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POLITICAL CATHOLICISM.

“Memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse.”—*Tacitus, Agric., c. 3.*

“The judgments of God are for ever unchangeable, neither is he wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his blessing in one age to that which he hath cursed in another.”

*Raleigh.*

“That good men should have the freedom which they merit, the bad should have the curb which they need.”—*Milton.*

“It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free, their passions forge their fetters.”—*Burke.*

HISTORICAL OUTLINES

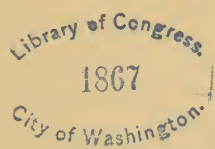
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OF

POLITICAL CATHOLICISM:

ITS PAPACY—PRELACY—PRIESTHOOD—  
PEOPLE.

*William Bullen.*



LONDON:  
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193 PICCADILLY.  
1853.

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THE design of this essay being merely to communicate political instruction in the form of historical information,—the author has not only carefully concealed his own, but studiously avoided allusion to opinions purely religious. These pages are presented to the perusal of every sect, in the hope of not offending the peculiar prejudices of any. The term CATHOLICISM in the title may, perhaps, be exceptionable to many, but it is defined in the latest English Dictionary, that of Webster—"adherence to the Roman Catholic Church," a definition justified by the high authority of Lord Somers; and it is used in the succeeding pages merely as politically descriptive of a particular class, irrespective altogether of the claim to universality for their peculiar creed. "It is a great misfortune," observed Pope Ganganelli, "that people confound religion with her ministers, and make her responsible for *their* faults." To illustrate one still greater—the confounding of religion with politics—to avert another, by awakening every class to the dangers which menace their civil rights, from the intemperance and intolerance of *her* ministers, is the aim and object of



the author. It has been often lamented that learning, wisdom, and experience should lie buried, with their follies, prejudices, and weaknesses, in the graves of our forefathers. Historic events in which our ancestors had been the actors, rescued in our days from the obscurity with which time and dust have covered them, may be fairly treated as *treasure-trove*; and some merit may perhaps be accorded, even to the humblest, who presents them to the public. In reviving the recollections, and recording the results of transactions that are past, ground previously trodden by others must necessarily be travelled over by the inquirer. In the selection of authorities, Roman Catholic authors have been invariably preferred by the writer, when the required information could be procured from them. In those instances in which references are given, he has ventured to follow the highest modern authority, by adopting the views, and in some instances the language, of those to whom he refers.—The maxim of Cicero, “*Nihil est in historia purâ et illustri, brevitâ dulcius,*” seems to have been the guide of Tacitus: adopting that maxim, and following that high example, the author has ventured to compress into a condensed form, so far as they are applicable to his design—the annals of three centuries—centuries replete with events—furnishing materials for grave and varied reflections—distinguished for the progression of intellectual, philosophical, commercial, and political advancement.

*London, 12th March, 1853.*

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# HISTORICAL OUTLINES

## OF

### POLITICAL CATHOLICISM.

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#### CHAPTER I.

“A CLERGY,” declared the prophetic Burke, “who are not restrained by the most austere subordination, will become a nuisance, a real public grievance of the heaviest kind, in any country that entertains them.” That subordination, to which the most eminent advocate of civil and religious liberty thus referred, is twofold. First, to the government, laws, and institutions of the State which protects the priesthood in their civil rights; next, to the doctrines, discipline, and tenets of the Church of their religious ministration.\* The principles that ought to govern clerical subordination are best studied in the precepts of the Divine Founder of Christianity. The truest interpreter of those precepts is the life of HIM whose words were the emanation of Heaven; whose morals were as pure as his charity was unbounded;

\* “L’Ecclesiastique doit compte de ses talens, autant à son Prince, et à la patrie, qu’à la religion dont il est ministre.”—*Abbé Roy*.

whose humility was as unaffected as his origin was exalted ; whose benevolence was as universal as his mission was sublime. Of HIM who, above human prejudice, appeared a poor man amongst the poor ; who, endowed with omnipotence, inculcated equality ; who, an enemy to tyranny, announced that the truths he taught would make all men free ; who, despising ambition, preached peace on earth ; who, Sovereign of the spiritual world, acknowledged his temporal allegiance ; who, born in Judea, submitted to the laws and civil authority of imperial Rome.\*

The religion of Christ has, however, unfortunately for the liberties and happiness of man, been but rarely the religion of Christendom. That faith, designed to be a mild and endearing bond of amity amongst men, has been too often wielded as a desolating instrument of discord. That theology has been denounced as false, which, by an impious converse, makes man according to God's image, and plants infernal passions in his breast.†

The tyranny of the Church of Rome has always assumed two phases,—despotism and intolerance. The first it exercises over the members of its own ; the latter, over the members of every other creed. Happy would it be for the destinies of men, could the aphorism of Andrew Marvel be realized in the priesthood of every creed : “There is nothing that comes nearer the divine perfection, than to enjoy a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to do all that is evil.”‡

To the intrigues, intemperance, and treachery of the

\* Essay on the Roman Catholic Religion.

† Sheil.

‡ Works of Andrew Marvel.

priesthood, can Catholic Ireland trace her decline and degradation in every age, from the days when Nicholas Breakspear, the only English pope, betrayed the island to his countryman, the Second Henry of England. That transfer has been characterised by the Catholic historian, Thomas Moore, as “an audacious transaction, presenting in all respects a perfect instance of that sort of hypocritical prelude to wrong, that holy league, for the purposes of rapine, between the papal and regal powers, in which most of the usurpations, frauds, and violences of those dark and demoralized times originated.”\* The priestly chronicler of her annals assures us, that after his invasion, the first measure of that monarch “was to cover the country with monasteries for her subjugation.”† Under priestly dominion in succeeding reigns, that subjugation was delegated to restless adventurers, who, rude and uneducated, threw off the control of English institutions, and degenerated to the level of the conquered. While they bowed superstitious obedience to the papal Church, retaining the vices of partial civilization, they superadded the adopted depravity of uncultivated ferocity. Intermittent massacre was succeeded by retaliatory extermination; temporary truces only induced more sanguinary outbreaks; purchased pardons only encouraged fresh insurrections.‡

The Reformation partitioned the Christian world. From that era a large portion of the subjects of the Crown was found antagonistic to the creed of the State; persecution became the favourite instrument on both sides for the propagation of faith; and the accusations of history, when

\* Moore's History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 204.

† Taaffe's Ireland, vol. i.

‡ Clarke's Memoirs of the Supremacy.



impartial, are equally severe on *both*. When bribes and terror were found unsuccessful inculcators of doctrine, the sword, the scaffold, and the stake were adopted by all, as the most persuasive and merciful expedients to eradicate errors which reasoning could not remove. The little advance made by the Reformation amongst the native Irish, is attributed by high authority—"to the national feeling which in happier countries was directed against Rome, being in Ireland directed against England." \* With English Protestantism, Irish Catholicism accordingly became the touchstone of treason,—consequent cruelty the certain herald of revolt,—and papal intrigue seized every occasion to kindle the conflagration of rebellion. In a succession of rebellions defeat was hereditary, and the Irish invariably acquired the guilt without the glory of war.

Under the dominion of the priesthood, Ireland has ever been the theatre of an unbroken chain of calamity ; their intemperance, exciting and misleading the people, the cause of the long servitude of both. Even though aided by the arms and treasures of Spain, the jealous machinations and formidable hostility of France,—the spiritual protectorate of Rome, when grasping at political influence, has ever proved but the shadow of death to Ireland. Subserviency to foreign influence constantly exciting resistance to legalized authority, the first law of nature—self-preservation—necessarily dictated measures of security to power. The forfeiture of civil rights accordingly became, by form of law, proscriptive as well as remedial, aggressive as well as retaliatory—the retributive fate of those—whose lives the sword had spared, and the remnant of whose properties had escaped former confiscations. In

\* Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.

tracing back the origin and causes of the penal laws, when we remember the haughty tone in which the Church insulted sovereigns as well as subjects,—the zeal with which, in the desperate agonies of her decline, she armed the people against authority,—the pertinacity with which she sought to establish her despotism on the ruins of civil liberty, although sensibility may see in *their* enforcement much to lament, justice will find in their enactment but little to condemn.

The penal code had its source in the dark and rugged days of our ancestors; it gradually became mild and mitigated as it descended into more cultivated times. After successive but partial relaxations, the eloquent Curran thus beautifully hailed their extensive remission in 1793:—"If we look back with sorrow to their enactment, let us look forward with kindness and gratitude to their repeal. Produced by national calamity, they were brought by national benevolence as well as by national contrition to the altar of public justice and concord, and offered as a sacrifice to atone, to heal, to conciliate, to restore social confidence." Associated with that repeal, as its first appearance in public life, is a name the most illustrious of our age. For that name was reserved in 1829, their total extinction—an act adding one, and that perhaps not the least to its many titles to immortality!

The measure of Catholic Emancipation was in amplitude as large, as noble, and as fearless as the heart of the warrior by whom, as then first minister of the Crown, it was conceived and conceded. Undismayed by danger in the field, unmoved by difficulties in the Cabinet, undaunted by the opposition of popular prejudice, unawed by open hostility from the Throne—in policy as in war,

he trod down what other minds deemed impossibilities. The eye that was omniscient in the storm of battle—could not perceive in the deferential humility of the suppliant, the dissembling guise of deceit. The truest heart that ever beat in the breast of man—could not believe that in the ardent desire to recover political rights, there lurked a secret design to reconquer religious supremacy. He trusted in the solemn professions of men, with the confiding sincerity of a soldier ;

“ Artless save in the warrior’s art,  
And in that art the first.”—*Croker*.

In unrivetting the fetters of his countrymen, he rejected the galling shackles of proffered securities—despising the past, he hoped to guide the future. His magnanimity disdained to make the surrendered independence of the Church the ransom of Catholic freedom. In extinguishing the remnant of the penal code, he raised the Catholic from the abject state of helotism to a level in citizenship with himself—and that self was WELLINGTON !

History is our preceptress, and the essayist who strives to trace the calamities of nations to their causes, must unfold her darkest and most gloomy pages. A man should be equally fearful of suppressing what is true as of publishing what is false. Power in the hands of a political priesthood has been invariably found fatal to popular liberty, subversive of national advancement. High Catholic and clerical authority admits the prerogative of the pontiff as a sovereign in the Papal States, to be “ a despotism diametrically opposed to the interests of the people and the personal happiness of the prince.”\* A

\* Eustace’s Classical Tour in Italy.

calm and attentive review of history connected with the Catholic priesthood at home leads to unerring conclusions. Ever servilely devoted when weak, that clergy have been always dangerously ambitious when they fancied themselves strong. When oppressed, they have ever asserted the principles of religious equality—admitted to civil rights, they have ever advanced claims to religious ascendancy—sectarian aggrandizement. Wherever and whenever priestly dominion has attained the ascendant, rational liberty has become proportionately depressed. These axioms may also be deduced from the too rarely consulted testimony of history. All enterprizes in which that clergy have assumed or seized the helm, have invariably drifted into the current of fatal miscarriage. Every attempt by them to revive or extend their power beyond its fitting sphere, has been signally marked by public misfortune. National honour, happiness, liberty, prosperity, always advance with the retreat of the priesthood into sanctified retirement. These pages are intended to elucidate these propositions,—by recalling the crimes, follies, infatuations, vicissitudes, exclusions, indignities, remonstrances, professions and perfidies of past generations for the instruction,—the admonition of this!

1558. The ministers of Elizabeth had been attentive observers of events during the Catholic dominion of Mary. The pope, originally but a bishop, was placed by an imperial edict at the head of the prelacy. When the head of the empire had abandoned, or was driven from the imperial dominion he had exercised over mediæval Rome, the pontiff, seeking to strengthen his spiritual by the acquisition of temporal power, claimed as the inheritor of his rights. The insurrections which Elizabeth had to subdue in Ireland, according to Ranke,



were almost all instigated by Rome:\* the conspiracies against her in England could be traced to the same source. Paul IV. was pope on the accession of Elizabeth; he had introduced the inquisition into Rome, an institution founded by St. Dominic, after one which had existed amongst the Jews in the time of Christ, and had been sanctioned by the Talmud.† It is a gratification, at least, to believe that its origin was unchristian; and on the death of that pope, the Roman people rushed to destroy the building, the seat of the inquisitorial tribunal.‡ Paul replied to the ambassador of Elizabeth, that England was held only as a fief of his see; but he did not long survive his vain and arrogant assertion. He died on the 18th of August, 1559, and on the 29th of December following, Pius IV. assumed the tiara. This pontiff had seen that the efforts to enforce a compelled conversion had been abortive, and in an official letter to Elizabeth of the 5th of May 1560, he sought to cajole the Queen. “You may promise to yourself,” said he, “all things you can desire from us, not only for the salvation of your soul, but also to establish and confirm your royal dignity by our authority.” Thus was an alliance proffered, by a power ever infallible, to one who had been excommunicated by his predecessor—as a bastard, a heretic, and a usurper,—that was to legitimize her in birth, lineage and orthodoxy. This pope also sent an eminent ecclesiastic as ambassador specially to conciliate Elizabeth, but on reaching Calais he was refused admission into England. Pius IV. further urged the Queen to send an envoy to

\* Ranke's History of the Popes: Kelly's translation. Whitaker and Co., Lond. 1843.

† The Rev. J. Welff's Journal, vol. i., p. 312.

‡ Sharon Turner's History of England, vol. xii., p. 155.



the Council of Trent, and to allow her prelates to attend, but she refused;\* the intractable arrogance of his predecessor had irrevocably decided the reformation of the Church in England. The State Council, in their discussions on the 1st of May 1561, respecting permission to a nuncio to visit England, explained their suspicions of the pope:—"What an abuse is this to bear us in hand, that no harm is meant by the pope, when he hath already done as much as in him lieth to hurt us. The pope even at this moment hath his legate in Ireland, who is already joined with certain traitors there, and occupied in stirring a rebellion."† Whatever hopes there might have been of reconciliation, expired on the death of Pius IV. in December, 1565; and he was succeeded by Pius V., who had been originally selected by Paul IV. to preside over the Inquisition at Rome. This holy incendiary, forgetting that the different branches of Christianity are but so many ways to the same end, adopted the never-failing resource of terrified intolerance—threats and persecution. He stimulated, by pontifical epistles, the frightful atrocities of the ferocious Duke of Alva in Flanders, in 1568. The Council of Alva, to carry out the commands of the pope, is the execration of history, under the designation of "The Council of Blood!"‡ In 1569 Pius sent his troops,

\* Charles Butler, *His Mem.*, vol. i., pp. 152, 153.

† *Hardw. State Papers*, vol. i., p. 184.

‡ Gibbon observes—"A melancholy truth obtrudes itself on the reluctant mind,—that the Christians, in the course of their intestine dissensions, have inflicted far greater severities on each other, than they had experienced from the zeal of Infidels." In the Netherlands alone, more than one hundred thousand subjects of Charles V. are said by Grotius, a man of genius, learning, and moderation, to have suffered by the hand of the executioner. "If we are obliged," adds Gibbon, "to submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be allowed that the number of Pro-

under Sporza, into France, to punish, by the infliction of every severity, the heretics and their leaders. In his letters to Catherine de Medici, he insisted upon her not sparing the enemies of heaven—they must be massacred—they must be exterminated; and, with the insanity of his self-deluding bigotry, he added, that he prayed for it every day.\* With infatuation incredible, he directed the Cardinal Lorraine to convince the king, that *he cannot satisfy his REDEEMER, without being inexorable to all who should dare petition him*;† and in a letter to Charles IX., he commanded him to listen neither to the prayers of blood nor kindred.‡ Against Elizabeth, whose policy was purely defensive, the cruel pontiff hurled fulminations

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testants who were executed in a single province and a single reign. far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in three centuries and of the Roman empire." He adds, in a note, that Fra Paolo, an historian of the Church who resided at Venice (*Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, lib. iii.), reduces the number of the Belgic martyrs to fifty thousand. (Milman's edition of Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' vol. ii., pp. 501, 502). Charles V. died in 1558. The Government of Alva in the Low Countries commenced in August, 1567; he returned to Spain in December, 1573. Alva boasted to Count Koningstein, uncle to the Prince of Orange, that during his government in Flanders of six years and a half, he consigned more than eighteen thousand heretics to the public executioner, besides a much greater number whom he put to the sword in the towns which he took, and in the field of battle. (Robertson's 'History of Charles V.,' Watson's 'History of Philip II. of Spain.')

It has been calculated that about two hundred persons suffered for their religion during the reign of Elizabeth in England.

\* See the extracts from the original letters in Latin in Sharon Turner's 'History of England,' note, vol. xii., pp. 182, 183.

† "Cherchez a le convaincre que sa Majesté ne pourra satisfaire le Redempteur, *quam, si omnibus qui pro sceleratissimis hominibus rogare audebunt, se inexorabilem proveat.*"—Letter to Cardinal Lorraine, 13th April 1569, p. 56.

‡ "Quâ in re, nullius preces admittere, nihil cujusquam sanguini et propinquitati concedere."—Letter to Charles XI., p. 61.

insulting and audacious, urging her subjects to assassinations and conspiracies; and in 1569 he strove to incite the Irish to rebellion—by a promise of the same plenary indulgence which had been conferred in the Crusades. His pontificate commenced on the 7th of January 1566, and ended on the 1st of May 1572; but he did not die until he had created that infernal spirit—which immediately after, in the same year, exhibited itself in the massacre of St. Bartholomew—an event which humanity will never forget, nor recollect but with universal and unutterable horror. Pius, on his death-bed, on reviewing his pontifical life, is said to have exclaimed—“When I was in a low condition, I had some hopes of salvation; after I had been admitted to be a cardinal, I greatly doubted it; but since I have come to be a pope, I have no hope at all.” Pius was beatified in 1672, and canonized by Clement XI. in 1712; but Charles Butler, a high Catholic authority, in order to palliate his posthumous honours, assures us, that in canonizing a saint, the Church is far from canonizing his acts.\*

“The bulls,” said Bossuet, the most eloquent ornament of the Catholic church, “of Paul III. against Henry VIII., and of Pius V. against Elizabeth, were waste paper—despised by the heretics, and in truth by the Catholics. Treaties, alliances, commerce—everything went on as before, and the popes knew this would be the case; still the Court of Rome, though aware of the inability of its decrees, would publish them to support its chimerical title. The heretics took advantage of them, and the Catholics suffered much by them, as occasion was taken in consequence to punish the Catholics—not as Catholics, but as public enemies—as men ever disposed, when the pope

\* His Mem., vol. i., pp. 196, 197.

should order, to revolt against the Crown.”\* Gregory XIII., in 1576, renewed the fulminations of Pius V. against Elizabeth, with additions of his own, but with equal success. His predecessor had forgotten Ireland in his excommunication; that of Gregory deprived the Queen of her Crown of Ireland, precisely as that of Pius V. had denuded her of that of England!

During the pontificate of Gregory XIII., an English refugee, Thomas Stuckley—a mere adventurer—resided at Rome. The pope appointed him his chamberlain, created him Marquess of Leinster, and, in order to enforce his bull against Elizabeth, furnished him with a ship and troops to invade Ireland. It was arranged that Stuckley should form a junction on the French coast with a small military force which Geraldine, an Irish refugee, had assembled there, also by means of assistance supplied by the pope. Stuckley, whose trade was fighting, was persuaded, after he had sailed, to take part in the expedition which King Sebastian had fitted out for the coast of Africa, in which, as soldiers of the pope were generally unfortunate, Stuckley was killed. Geraldine having, therefore, to try his fortune alone, landed in June 1579, and after various ill success, was also slain. The Earl of Desmond, on the landing of Geraldine, had revolted against the Queen, but the papal aid proved inadequate; the money that had been promised by the pope, never arrived: Desmond could therefore hold out no longer, and the English, as usual, were victorious. They punished those who had joined in the insurrection with the most frightful severity. The whole province of Munster was devastated, and colonists crowded from England to occupy

\* *Defence de la Déclaration du Clergé*, l. iv., c. 23.



the country—after it had been reduced, by the extirpation of the rebels, to a desert.\*

The tiara descended from Gregory to Sixtus V. on the 10th of April 1583. Sixtus had been employed by Pius V. to draw up the celebrated bull of excommunication which that Pope had fulminated against Elizabeth, and Sixtus probably owed his elevation to its success. He had also prepared the famous bull "*in Cæna domini*," afterwards so much an object of admiration with all insubordinate priests, by which ecclesiastics were exempted from taxation and from civil jurisdiction. The first move of Sixtus was to send a proposal to Elizabeth soliciting her to return to the bosom of the Church. The Queen, on reading it, laughed, and sent no reply. On hearing the manner his request had been received, Sixtus declared that he must seriously think of wresting the kingdom from her by force.† As pope, at the period of the Armada, his anathemas and benedictions were of course invaluable auxiliaries to Philip of Spain in his aggression upon England. The terrors and intrigues of the popedom drove Elizabeth to retaliate by cruel persecutions against the English Catholics—persecutions which disgrace her reign and dishonour her memory. When, however, Elizabeth wanted soldiers, her subjects crowded around her, and the Queen learned from events to distinguish, between Catholics by *conscience*—and Catholics by *faction*—a distinction taken by Walsingham, ‡ which still too palpably exists.

The approval by Rome of the preconcerted massacre

\* Ranke's History of the Popes, translated from the last German edition, with an introduction by D'Aubigné, 1846, vol. i., p. 438.

† Ranke's History of the Popes, vol. i., p. 492.

‡ Walsingham's Letter.

of St. Bartholomew,—the most frightful concentration of cruelty in the annals of Christianity,—and threatened assassinations of the Queen, excited the terrors and indignation of Elizabeth against the Catholics. Penal laws were introduced as protective laws, in reality to check foreign intrigue, to resist papal audacity,—as Elizabeth hypocritically announced “to humanize her semi-barbarous subjects.” Amongst their provisions were fines to enforce conformity: these Strafford afterwards, on his impeachment, declared “were an engine rather to draw money out of men’s pockets, than to raise a right belief in their hearts.”

1588. The enterprize of the Armada, aimed at the bulwark of Protestant faith, exhausted the resources of Catholic Spain. The spirit of the Queen relied on the courage of the people. England rose simultaneously in arms, and awaited the invaders with confidence, contempt, defiance. As an earnest of what England had to expect, with two thousand and eighty-eight slaves,\*—one hundred and eighty Jesuits and priests were embarked in the expedition,—designed as well for the religious as the national subjugation of the country. An armory of engines of torture for the conversion by the extirpation of heretics, formed the equipment of the meek and pious soldiers of the Church. While prayers were being fervently offered up for its safety—its success—disaster crowded on disaster. Baptized “*invincible*” by the benediction of the pope, it met on the shores of Britain discomfiture and defeat—signal and ignominious. Nothing shook so much the power of the popedom in the minds of the people, as the consciousness that its fulminations rolled by them harmless and unheeded. Religious bigotry

\* Strype, vol. iii., part ii., p. 535.



attempted in vain the perversion of public spirit—national honour prevailed with native loyalty ;—the English Catholics, indignant that the soil should be stained by the hostile foot of the stranger, were zealous in the defence of their country. Under the strong government of Elizabeth—attachment to their allegiance was the characteristic of the English Catholic laity. Howard, the high admiral of England, the head of the Protestant states of Europe, was a Catholic! If the invasion of the Armada had been successful, glorious England might have been disgraced by becoming, at least for awhile, what Spain has long been, and now is, the kingdom of the monkish cowl, the superstitious slave of inquisitorial tyranny, the seat of intellectual night.

When Don Juan D'Aguilla landed, in 1601, with that Spanish force which afterwards capitulated at Kinsale, he was induced by the Irish priesthood to assume the title of "General in the holy war of the Faith." While he proclaimed defiance to England, he issued a manifesto to the credulous Irish, that he was come to execute the commands of the pope, and establish Catholic supremacy in Ireland. "He endeavoured to impress upon them," observes a writer of the day, "what power religion and gold have upon the hearts of men ; both which the Spaniards brought with them into Ireland."\* Notwithstanding their profuse introduction, the Spaniards, who came with a vain hope of meeting the whole kingdom at their devotion, found themselves confined within an inconsiderable town, unassisted by the natives, and besieged by the forces of the Queen.† Elizabeth little apprehended the result.

\* Morryson.

† Elizabeth seems to have formed as contemptuous an estimate of the priest-ridden Spaniards in her days, as Nelson did in ours.

In a letter, she thus directs Mountjoy: "Tell our army from us, to make full account that every hundred of them will beat a thousand, and every thousand theirs doubled."\*

O'Neill, who, in 1596, in his letter of supplication, had "craved her Majesty's pardon on the knees of his heart,"† was again in arms against the Crown in the north. The Irish chieftains prostrated themselves before the pope, and solicited succour from him "as the father of spirits on earth."‡ To ensure success to O'Neill against the English, Clement VIII. forwarded to him from Rome a consecrated plume, of which the Spanish ecclesiastic, Don Matheo Oviedo, on whom the pontiff specially conferred the title of archbishop of Dublin, was the bearer. It was gravely attested by his holiness, that the feathers of which it was formed had been plucked from the wings of the phoenix,§—a creation of pure and early fable; still, doubtless, priests vouched the fact, and the Irish reli-

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When the combined fleet, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, was pursued by him with ten, "Take a Frenchman a-piece," said he to his captains, "and leave me the Spaniards."—*Southey's Life of Nelson*, p. 312.

\* Leland's History of Ireland, vol. i., p. 396.

† The Irish chieftains, whose principal instructors were the priests, were in the constant habit of imploring, by the most humble confessions, absolution from the Queen in the shape of pardons for their rebellions. The submission of M'Cartie More, Earl of Clancahir, appears on the patent roll of the 13th of Elizabeth, Dor. R. 6. He there confesses that "he had disloyally swerved from his allegiance, by raising traitorously her Majesty's subjects against her peace and laws, besieging her towns, shamefully murdering and destroying her subjects, burning her castles, besides committing sundry grievous offences and hideous and detestable treasons."

‡ See their Petition in Leland, vol. ii.

§ Leland's History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 364.

giously believed the tale. The promise of paradise to the Moslem who fell fighting the Christians—having proved a strong incitement to the valour of the Saracens, a similar stimulant had been applied by the popes to the Christians in the holy wars. To raise to the utmost the courage of the Irish, a fresh papal bull was issued by Clement to Ireland, conferring on those who should die rebels—the same plenary passport to heaven, which in earlier times had blessed and inspired the Crusaders. Clanricarde, a rigid Catholic, whose loyalty has been styled an antique idol, to which he was ready to make any sacrifice,—although he had been taught by his creed to regard the soldiers of Elizabeth as children of heresy, still adhered with honourable fidelity to the fortunes of his royal mistress. Elizabeth writes in another letter to Mountjoy, “Tell Clanricarde that we do most thankfully accept his endeavours.” Thus Ireland then possessed at least one Catholic of noble birth, of high spirit, in whom national honour was sacred; who preferred his allegiance, the safeguard of his independence, to priestly dominion :

“ Among innumerable false—unmoved—  
 Unshaken—unseduced—unterrified—  
 His loyalty he kept—his love—his zeal—  
 Nor number, nor example with him wrought  
 To swerve.”—*Milton*.

The veteran battalions of Spain, after defeat in every encounter from a greatly inferior force, surrendered by capitulation. Sent back in the ships of the victors, they palliated their disgrace—by referring to the deceptive hopes held out by the priests, and represented to their haughty, but humbled Court, the futility of further invasions. After the expulsion of the Spaniards, the Irish cursed their leaders : they, in their turn, reproached their priests.

Tyrone, the boldest of the rebels, submitted in person on his knees at Mellifont to the Queen's lieutenant, in a habit and posture becoming his humiliation.\* The fate of the Irish chieftains in this reign impressively illustrates the fatal contradiction—between abject professions of zealous loyalty—and headstrong outbreaks of treasonable ambition. Elizabeth founded the College of Dublin in 1591; during the period that Sir Nicholas Maltby held the government of Ireland, she had formed the design of erecting a second college in the west. She traced the repeated defections of the chiefs and their adherents to the priesthood; she states, in her letter to that lieutenant, "We find that the runegates of that nation which, under the pretence of study beyond the seas, do return fraught with superstition and treason, are the very instruments to stir up our subjects to undutifulness and rebellion."† It is to be lamented that, after a lapse of three centuries, education at home, supplied by a State endowment, has not eradicated the same vicious and fatal tendencies.

It has been the proud boast of England that she always defended her shores without the interposition of foreigners. The efforts of foreign influence, stimulated by priestly intrigue, have ever been fatal to the Irish,—exciting them into resistance, proving unequal to their support, deserting them in the hour of need. With Elizabeth commenced the reign of precautions and treasons, of plots and conspiracies, of jealousies and penalties; closing with victory abroad, tranquillity at home, in it was founded that solemn compact between the sovereign and the subject—by which Protestantism became the religion of the State. While

\* O'Driscoll's History of Ireland.

† MS. Brit. Mus.—Titus XII., p. 227.

Catholicism in other countries still exhibits its tendencies to stationary inertness, to slavish submission, to ignorant devotion; the spirit of Protestantism in England has proved itself essentially allied with the exercise of free inquiry, the advance of commercial enterprise, the enjoyment of national independence.

1603. Elizabeth was succeeded on the throne by the son of the beautiful but unfortunate Mary of Scotland, who had been a rigid Catholic. Although the blood of his mother had been shed by Elizabeth, her crown passed to James by the transmission of inheritance, as easily as if it had been an estate. A union between England and Scotland by inheritance thus preceded a union by treaty. As the pope had anticipated that James would not consent to hold the dominion of the country as a fief of the papacy, Clement VIII. early determined to wrest it from him; and the letter of Cardinal D'Ossat, of the 26th of November, 1601\*, disclosed the proposed project. That pontiff had resolved, on the death of Elizabeth, to confer the crown on the Lady Arabella Stuart, a Catholic, who, like James, had descended from Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII., and to marry her to the Duke of Parma. It happened, however, that the duke had a wife, but his brother—the Cardinal Farnese had none. It was therefore decided that the cardinal should be released from his religious vows, and secularized by his holiness, for the purposes of the marriage. The Court of Spain, however, refused its assent, and the French king, in his letter to the cardinal of the 24th of December 1601, extinguished this papal intrigue:—"The King of Scot-

\* The letters of the cardinal, and amongst them all the correspondence relating to this project, were published in Paris in 1698, in two volumes, with notes by Amelot de la Houssaye.



land," said he, "is the right heir. \* \* It is an injustice to oppose what is just, and an imprudence to engage in an undertaking so little likely to succeed, as that which is proposed by the pope. \* \* The papal project would be attended with consequences far different to those which the pope expected, and render the condition of the Catholics more miserable than ever, by making them take up arms in opposition to the laws of the kingdom, and to the lawful succession of the reigning monarch." \* The pope had, in the mean time, sent to the Jesuits in England two brevés on the subject, with directions to have them kept secret till the death of Elizabeth; but Lingard tells us that on the accession of James, Garnett, their superior, prudently committed them to the flames.†

James, who was styled by Sully "the wisest fool in Europe," was not hostile to the religion of his mother, but he was averse to the attachment of the Catholics to Rome. He was disposed to be indulgent to Catholics by birth, influenced perhaps by their devotion to his mother; but he hated Catholics by conversion. James fancied that the submissive tendencies of a hierarchy were more suited to the subordination of monarchical government than the republican notions of the Puritans; and he hoped by conciliation to detach the Catholics from the influence and terrors of the papacy. The Catholics freely enjoyed the full exercise of their religion—so long as its ministers abstained from political intrigue, and from that obtrusive pomp of celebration which vanity alone deemed essential to salvation, and which was not only offensive to Protestant consciences, but an unseemly rivalry with the Established Church. In the reign of James, the sove-

\* Charles Butler's *Hist. Mem.*, vol. i., p. 245.

† Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii. p. 389.



reignty of the Roman see was for the first time incorporated with the religious belief of Ireland.\* When measures of toleration were contemplated by James, the Commons of England thus remonstrated on the tendencies of that religion. "It hath a restless spirit, and will strive by these gradations; if it once get but a connivance, it will press for a toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to superiority, and will never rest till they get a subversion of our religion." When the mind reflecting upon these impressive sentences, which time has only made more vivid, contemplates the recent tone and movements of its churchmen,—vain is the hope of any change at least in them, vain the aspiration: "Rest! Rest! perturbed spirit!"

On the accession of James, the Irish of that creed in the southern cities seized upon the churches as their own. The priests of Waterford announced to the King's deputy, Mountjoy, that "they could not in conscience obey a Protestant prince;" but he soon brought them to their senses and to submission, by declaring that he "would enter the city by force, prostrate its walls, and strew salt upon the ruins."† We are assured, however, by the Catholic ecclesiastic historian, that the native Irish subsequently acknowledged James the rightful king of Ireland, as he had descended from Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, king of Scotland, who in the fourteenth century had been elected and crowned king by their ancestors.‡ Her Majesty the Queen derives the title of the House of

\* Phelan's History of the Policy of the Church of Rome, pp. 14, 15.

† Moore's Ireland.

‡ Abbé McGeoghegan, *Hist. de l'Ireland*, tom. iii., p. 637.

Hanover to the British throne from the blood of James, which flowed through those of his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, in the veins of Sophia of Brunswick; irrespective, therefore, of the Crown of England, Victoria Alexandrina is the legitimate sovereign of Ireland.\*

The hatred of the King to papal supremacy induced a proclamation commanding the whole Catholic clergy, both secular and regular, to depart England. These severities impelled Catesby and his Jesuit confederates in 1605 to the guilty conception of a crime without a parallel. Bigoted zeal justified, in the eyes of the conspirators, an instantaneous massacre of all that was eminent and exalted in the State. As Catholics they deemed it a glorious vengeance, by one general explosion, to bury together King, Queen, Prince apparent, Lords and Commons. As instruments of divine justice they piously but idly hoped, to see the sacrilegious walls of St. Stephens blown into atoms,—to behold its heretical inmates perish in one frightful doom. The loyalty of a Catholic peer, Mount-eagle, disclosed the treason, rescued England from the calamity, Catholicity from the obloquy of its consummation. The discovery was hailed by the rival religionists as a “divine illumination,” “a miraculous intervention through the divine spirit imparted by God.”† If the crime was Catholic, if Catholics endured the sin and shame of its conception, through a Catholic descended the divine spirit of that illumination.—Still the event, appalling in

\* The Princess Sophia became the wife of Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Hanover, and her son became King of England, by the title of George I., precisely a century after the marriage of his grandmother, the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of James I.

† Coke—Gunpowder Plot.

itself, roused intense indignation against the Catholics amongst the people.

On the failure of the plot, and while the scaffold was yet reeking with guilty blood, the majority of the Catholic laity signed a declaration, that although they bowed to the scholastic dogmas of the Roman Church, they rejected the supremacy of the pope, and repudiated the treason of papal assumption, to dethrone kings, or sanctify assassination.\* The atrocity of the plot itself, the sensation produced by the enrolment on his execution—of Garnett the superior of the Jesuits,† as a martyr; and the declaration of Digby, “that no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and my life but zeal to God’s religion,” raised such a storm in England, that any enormity charged against the Catholics, received immediate and general credence. In the fashionable language of the day, the rising religion designated themselves “gospellers;” in derision they styled those professing that which was sinking, “papelins.”‡

In an age in which Bacon, “the wisest of mankind,” declared, that uniformity in religion was absolutely essential to the support of Government, we cannot but admire the magnanimity of James. He refrained from punishing the many for the guilt of the few. In his speech to Parliament, on the 22nd of January 1606, he declared, “that the conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter in the least his plan of Government, while with one hand he punished guilt, he would still with the other support and

\* Clarke’s Memoirs of the Supremacy.

† Fuller, b. x., p. 41.—Coke, on the trial of Henry Garnett, said, “He had many gifts and endowments of nature,—by birth a gentleman, by education a scholar, by art learned, and a good linguist.”

‡ Disraeli’s Secret History, vol. i., p. 81.

protect innocence." The Parliament was itself moderate, merely imposing the oath of allegiance then framed—as a test on every subject.

James, scarcely recovered from the shock of his own escape, was terrified at the assassination of Henry of Navarre, by Ravailac, a fanatic monk, in 1610. The promulgation of the papal brev   of Paul V., transmitted to Holtby, the successor of Garnett, as superior of the Jesuits, forbidding the Catholic subjects of his Crown, "for the salvation of their souls," to take the oath of allegiance, still further aroused the hostility of James. Rumour, perhaps, unjustly attributed these acts to the Jesuits. While Macaulay concedes to that body many virtues—many eminent attributes—he admits that, in early times, "it was their office to plot against the thrones of apostate kings; to spread evil rumours; to raise tumults; to inflame civil wars; to arm the hand of the assassin."\* In order, as James alleged, to secure himself against men to whom were imputed such detestable principles, all Jesuits were commanded, by proclamation, to quit England, and all Catholic recusants were forbidden to come within ten miles of the Court. In the natural horror excited by the extreme doctrines of the Catholic priesthood—originated the counteracting gloomy fanaticism of Scotland—the retributory severities of Puritan intolerance in England.

Stern measures had been adopted in 1605, to suppress the insolence of the priesthood; and a proclamation also commanded them to quit Ireland. The laws were, however, leniently enforced. The plantation of Protestant Ulster, on the six counties forfeited in the preceding reign by the Catholic chiefs, was considered by James as the

\* Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.



masterpiece of his policy. His pride was gratified by his threefold eminence — King — legislator — projector; he declared a King ought to be, what he became himself, “the great schoolmaster of the land.” To him is Ireland, perhaps, indebted for the vast contrast which that province now presents, in industrial civilization, to the more Catholic districts of Ireland.

In the bitter and deadly feuds—the fierce conflicts of the preceding reign—massacre and spoliation had been deemed mere instruments of planting religion and civilization, and were not considered crimes. The reign of James, more mild, was generally more popular, perhaps from the recollections and traditions of that of Elizabeth. Elizabeth had striven by severities to suppress the discontented confederacies of the Irish; James laboured by an improved settlement of property—by justice equably administered—to civilize them. “The multitude,” observes Sir John Davis, “admiring the power of the Crown of England, submitted themselves to the government, received the laws and magistrates, and most gladly embraced the King’s pardon, and peace was established in all parts of the realm with demonstrations of joy and comfort.” With the name and wisdom of Davis is associated the origin of the tenant-right of Ulster.

The Lord Deputy Chichester, in 1611, announced his intention of assembling a Parliament, after an interval of twenty-seven years. According to Lingard, “the avowed object was to enact new laws and obtain supplies, but the Catholics suspected a further design of imposing on their necks those penal laws which weighed so heavily on their brethren in England.”\* Additional alarm was also excited by the efforts of the Crown to obtain a ma-

\* History of England, vol. ix., p. 149.

jority in the House of Commons. History here presents to us a scene resembling recent elections in Ireland. The clergy denounced from their altars all those who should presume to vote against the holy Church. They persuaded the lower classes that Tyrone, who was then outlawed, furnished with foreign aid, would soon again invade Ireland ; that those who stood firm to the ancient faith would soon triumph over their enemies. Hopes, terrors, oaths of association—all the devices of subtle policy and daring faction—were used to render by intimidation the privilege of voting subservient to priestly dictation.\* When the house assembled, Sir John Davis was proposed as speaker. The Catholics set up Sir John Everard, a recusant, and with tumultuous clamours seated him in the chair. The ministerial party exclaimed against the outrage, and declaring their candidate duly elected, after vain attempts to remove his competitor by force, seated Davis in the lap of Everard. The scene at length closed by the secession of the recusants.†

The seditious harangues, the menaces, the open declarations of appeal to arms and foreign aid, the agitations, the cabals, the consequent popular clamours, are described as alarming. The temper and moderation of Chichester were beyond all praise : as the storm subsided, he recommended the discontented to appeal to the King in person.‡

Lingard admits, “that the deputies were graciously received by James.” Instructed and guided by the wisdom of Chichester, the King heard the appellants repeatedly, patiently, deliberately ; he censured and

\* Memoirs of the Supremacy.

† Leland's Ireland, vol. ii., p. 448.

‡ Memoirs of the Supremacy.



reproved them in language applicable to the Catholic clerical lieges of our lady the Queen. "In the matter of Parliament you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully, and your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable.\* Styling them "Parliament recusants" in derision, he told them that they had failed in all their recriminations; he declared that there was nothing faulty in the government of Ireland, "unless," said he, "you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven."†

The Catholics then, as now, allying themselves with the priests to form, as they hoped, an Irish party, returned discomfited and abashed to lay the foundation of deeper humiliation at home. Strange that then as now, turbulent intimidation should be selected by them as the passport to a deliberate assembly. Strange that two centuries and a half, with all their examples, should have rolled over that body without any improvement in prudence, tone, temper—that the immutability of their faith should seem to preserve immutable their political folly. Civil liberty cannot long exist in any community with that class, by whom the privilege of free political opinion is laid as an offering on the altar.

\* Lawless, *History of Ireland*, p. 269.

† The deputation consisted of Roche Lord Fermoy, the Earl Fingal, Richard Nugent, afterwards Earl of Westmeath, and Patrick Barnwall, Knight.—*Hib. Dom.*, 624.

## CHAPTER II.

1625. The Parliament of England, in the reign of Charles I., exhibited three parties—one hostile to catholicity, but not to prelacy or monarchy; a second hostile to prelacy and catholicity, but friendly to monarchy; the third inveterate enemies to catholicity, prelacy, and monarchy—the latter combining the enthusiasm of the zealot, with equal hatred to *all*, became the Independent, the Puritan, afterwards the republican, finally the ascendant party. The fanaticism of the Puritans despised the ceremonials of catholicity, detested its doctrines, as tainted with primitive pollution. In tracing its principles, they fancied they had discovered the origin of monarchical absolutism. The Catholics had justified their previous persecutions by the infallibility of their pontifical head; the Puritans, relying on what they deemed an equally unerring guide, the Scriptures, adopted their example: exclaiming against toleration, they profanely declared that it would make the Church of Christ, like Noah's ark, a universal receptacle. Into such hands fell the ill-fated Charles!

The King had married in England, in the year of his accession, the daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, who had been twice a Huguenot and twice a Papist. The Queen was a rigid Catholic, surrounded by foreign priests. Grave offence had been given to the stern

notions of the people by the humiliating state to which her confessor had reduced Henrietta Maria of England, by a degrading penance; she submitted to a barefoot pilgrimage to Tyburn, and on the spot where the Jesuits had expiated their treasons, in the preceding reigns of Elizabeth and James, the Queen knelt and prayed to them as martyrs who had shed their blood in defence of the Catholic cause. "If," exclaimed the spectators, "they dare thus insult the daughter, sister, and wife of so great kings, what slavery would they not make us, the people, undergo?"\* Pierre Berille, the confessor of the Queen, was afterwards created a cardinal.

While Charles was nominally King, the head of Strafford fell on the block. May declares "that three whole nations were his accusers, and sought in his death a recompense of all their sufferings." The trial of Strafford was a departure from every maxim of criminal justice—he strove in vain to shield himself under laws which he had recently trampled down. Charles has been blamed for his sacrifice, but he could not save him. It has been asserted that Strafford had obtained the correspondence of the parliamentary leaders, by whom he was impeached, with the rebel Scots. A determination to stifle disclosures exciting *them* to revolt at home—urging them to cross the borders in arms as allies of the English republicans—sealed his doom. In the same year occurred, in Ireland, the frightful massacre of 1641, assuming all the horrors of religious frenzy. Charles exclaimed, "That sea of blood which hath been cruelly and barbarously shed is enough to drown any man in eternal infamy!" History asserts "that the sacred name of religion was

\* Disraeli's Secret History of Charles I. — Works, vol. ii., p. 379.

heard on every side—not to stay the hands of the murderers, but to steel their hearts against human or social sympathy;”—“that the victims were marked out by the priests for slaughter.”\* “The story of the massacre,” observes the most brilliant of their historians, “to the Catholics brings a feeling of retrospective shame, like that which wrung from Lord Castlehaven, himself a Catholic peer, these emphatic words: ‘Not all the water in the sea could wash away the guilt of the rebels.’”† The bigotry of either party is free to revive or treasure its atrocities—the consequences are sufficient for the present design.

The fall of Strafford, the result of his vigorous but tyrannic sway, had despoiled his successors of high prerogative authority. One of the charges against him on his impeachment had been, that he had encouraged the Catholics in Ireland, and had raised an army of 8,000 men, chiefly of that body, to assist the King against the people; and Strafford, in a letter to Winderback, admitted, “as in their purses, so also in their persons, I find them most eager to venture them in his Majesty’s service.”‡ Originally raised and disciplined by the Crown to suppress the rebellion in Scotland, on its cessation they were ready for any desperate or daring enterprize. Certain it is that most of the soldiers thus raised joined the rebel party, “though very few of the officers were polluted with the crime.”§ The Parliament had connived at the Irish rebellion, in order to charge Charles with fomenting it. It is now generally believed

\* Hume’s History of England, reign of Charles I.

† Moore’s History of Ireland, vol. iv., p. 230.

‡ Strafford’s Letters.

§ Borlace, p. 9. Lord Oxford’s Memoirs, vol. i., p. 150.

that while the insurgents of Ulster were guilty of their excesses, they were, through the Queen and her priestly advisers, in constant communication with the King. Their design was to elevate their religion—his to secure an army to lead against the Parliament. Strafford had been succeeded by Lords Justices, who, taking tone from their masters, declared that the massacre had been secretly encouraged by the King, and recommended cruel retaliation. It was said that with them, the Parliament pamphlets were received as oracles, their commands obeyed as laws, and extermination preached as gospel.\* The undisguised determination of the parliamentary leaders to extirpate the Catholics, drove the lords of the English pale, previously distinguished for devoted loyalty, and their adherents, to join the aboriginal rebels of Ulster. Charles in his turn solicited aid from the Scots; they having failed him, he imprudently looked to the Parliament, thus furnishing to them a pretext for further usurpation. Charles had alienated friends by the introduction of mercenary troopers from Germany, and the accessory Crowns of Scotland and Ireland increased his embarrassments.

1642. The Lords of the pale and the Catholic gentry had in the meantime constituted themselves the "Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland." The motto on their seal was, "Pro Deo, pro rege, pro patria—Hiberniâ—Unanimes." While adherents were crowding around the standard of the confederates, the Parliament were levying money and collecting arms under the pretext of an expedition to Ireland, with the secret design of using them against the King. The confederates were gaining strength in Ireland, but Charles was gradually

\* Carte's Ormond.



sinking in England. In despair he again turned his eyes anxiously to them for aid, and sent a commission to Ormond to treat with his subjects in arms. Charles even declared his intention to visit Ireland; this the Commons opposed by strong resolutions, declaring the advisers of such an expedition enemies of the commonwealth.\*

The King alternated between anxiety to conciliate the Catholics on the one hand, and apprehension of outraging the Puritans on the other. The authority given to Ormond to abrogate the penal laws exposed the object of Charles, encouraged the design of the Parliament, the exaltation of their own power. Subservient authority was despised by those who aimed at the entire sovereignty. The vacillating King complained in a letter to Clanricarde that the confederates "had so far seduced that unhappy nation that many of them are yet persuaded that they serve us by rebelling against us."† They conceived that as Charles was in effect a prisoner, revolt against those who had usurped his authority, could not be treason to him. Castlehaven declared, "as to the parliamentarians, that they by all their actions showed that they looked at nothing but the extirpation of the nation, the destruction of the monarchy, and by the utter suppression of the ancient Catholic religion to settle and establish Protestantism. To these I could be no traitor"‡

The outbreak in Ireland had succeeded the pacification of Scotland, but the example of the Scotch encouraged the confederates. "Aware that their regulations amounted to an assumption of the sovereign authority, they were careful to convey to Charles assurances of their devotion

\* Brodie's History of the British Empire, vol. iii., p. 329.

† Carte's Ormond, vol. iii., p. 361.

‡ Castlehaven's Review.



to his person.”\* The King hoped to secure them as an army to lead against the Parliament, but the leaders had other objects. Their subsequent defiance of the Crown was attributed to their confidence through the priests in the secret protection of the Queen.† They naturally apprehended that the Puritans, if they should succeed in subduing their sovereign, would then direct their ambition against them. The Catholic laity were generally prudent and dignified: in the celebrated remonstrance of Trim, they complained thus: “the Catholics of this kingdom, whom no reward could invite, no persecution could enforce, to forsake that religion professed by them and their ancestors for one thousand three hundred years, are, ever since the second year of Queen Elizabeth, made incapable of places of trust and honour in church or commonwealth; their nobles become contemptible, their gentry debarred from learning in universities or public schools within this kingdom, their younger brothers from all manner of employment in their native country, and necessitated to seek education and fortune abroad,” and they “offered to employ 10,000 men in defence of His Majesty’s royal rights and prerogatives.”‡ Can the Catholics now point to the existence of any solitary one of these grievances? The terms proposed by their commissioners at Oxford in March 1644, were almost identical with the propositions brought forward by Mr. Grattan in 1784, and with the relaxations of civil exclusion on the ground of religious faith, which distinguished the charter of Catholic freedom in 1829. The Catholics of the present day can, therefore, boast of the full and free enjoyment of every privilege,

\* Lingard’s History, vol. x., p. 101.

† Hallam’s Constitutional History, vol. ii., p. 463.

‡ Moore’s Ireland.

civil and religious, stipulated for by their ancestors in arms, or claimed by the immortal eloquence of their most illustrious advocates.

Charles bore arms against the people in England, but the people first bore arms against Charles. While the Parliament was alternately treating with and defying the King, the wires of Catholic malcontent in Ireland were worked by the invisible hand of Richelieu. His movements were secret but simultaneous. A cardinal minister of France was a ready instrument of papal ambition; and the Queen, with her ecclesiastical advisers, also placed herself under the guidance of Mazarin, his successor. Whatever may have been the feelings of the papal Court towards the unfortunate but heretical King, Ranke tells us that the Queen was treated at Rome with a sort of official recognition,—that ministerial communications were kept up with her,—and that her Majesty was allowed the privilege of nominating cardinals, in like manner as other sovereigns.\* The Puritans rather encouraged than suppressed the intrigues of the Roman see,—to justify their detestation of the hapless King, to undermine the prelacy and the Church.

“As the fortunes of her Royal Lord grew darker and darker,” observes Miss Strickland, “Queen Henrietta was induced to persuade him to abandon the Episcopal Church in England in hopes of restoration and peace.”† The Stuarts had ever been a faithless race. It was of Charles that Strafford, in the bitterness of his betrayal, exclaimed, “Put not your trust in princes!” When the Parliament proposed to Charles, with the block almost in sight, the sale of lands destined for the support of the

\* Ranke's History of the Popes, Kelly's Translation, p. 274.

† Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. v., p. 340.

Church, he declared it not only to be sacrilegious, but a direct violation of his coronation oath, by which he was solemnly bound to maintain the rights of the clergy. Yet this is the same violation of the same oath at which a Stuart—and that Stuart a captive—recoiled, which the nominees of the priests, imitative of the Puritans, intend to propose to Victoria the First, in the plenitude of her power!

Anxiety for rapine dictated to the Parliament the disposal of the Irish forfeitures by anticipation :—the expression, “ disposing of the skin before the bear was dead,” fell from the King on receiving the great remonstrance of the Commons. Threatened confiscations rendered the high-born Irish families desperate against their ignoble assailants. The priesthood availed fatally of that desperation to deal out the most impartial treachery to both the King and the people. The reflections of Charles, in the instructions he bequeathed to his son, are applicable equally to the Puritan and the Priest. “ When some men’s consciences accuse them of sedition and faction they stop its mouth with the name and noise of religion.”—“ The mask of religion on the face of rebellion will not serve to hide some men’s deformities.” \*

From 1645 dates the ruinous interference of the priesthood. Thenceforth the blight of their blind and bigoted intemperance fell upon the cause of Ireland. Their first movement was to insist on a new oath of association, that no peace should be consented to that was not approved of by the congregation of the Irish clergy. They then insulted the Parliamentary party by designating them “ the Malignants of England,” and outraged churchmen by deriding the Establishment as a remnant of popery.

\* Appendix to Clarke’s Life of James II.

The clergy, regular as well as secular, bound themselves in an oath to advance the papacy; and while they captivated the ignorant and superstitious, they disgusted by their extravagance all men of moderate opinions. While the lay aristocracy retained the guidance of affairs, they exhibited a strong desire to cultivate relations of amity, and to resist the encroachments of the priesthood. The priesthood, on the other hand, stipulated for the restoration of their religion to its ancient grandeur; and proclaimed, that unless the churches and ecclesiastical revenues were placed at their disposal, they would resist any terms.\*

The interference of the clergy was the sure forerunner of that fate which has ever devoted the Irish Catholics to ruin. Intoxicated with imaginary importance, the priests soon broke the confederates into helpless factions. Incorrigibly perverse, they thwarted every prudent measure; they grasped at the shadow of futile authority from abroad, to let go the substance of peaceful prosperity at home. With the arrival of an Italian priest, Battista Rinuncini, vanished the hopes and prospects of the confederated Catholics. The nuncio of the pope, backed by all the clergy, assumed the style and character of dictator. He foolishly fancied himself and the priests to be the chosen of Providence to subvert the power of England. Under colour of keeping the sacraments from profanation, he availed himself of what was termed "the power of the keys,"—a right to fulminate excommunications. He excommunicated those who dared to remonstrate, and exercised without control, in defiance of common sense, the functions of absolute power. In a letter to the pope, Rinuncini assured his spiritual master "that the Irish

\* O'Driscoll's Ireland.

clergy, so much despised, were, in the twinkling of an eye, masters of the kingdom. The supreme council were deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied to them, and all the powers of the confederacy devolved upon the clergy.”\* The Irish clergy are described as having been in the Convocation factious, proud, presumptuous, and selfish; zealous to recommend themselves to their spiritual head by their solicitude for his supremacy.† Feeling that the clergy are in some despotic countries subject only to ecclesiastical tribunals, amongst other extravagant demands, they stipulated for the extinction of the common law, so far as it interfered with their authority, and insisted on the erection of Catholic universities. So monstrous were the pretensions and doctrines of the ultramontane priests, that they were denounced by an Irish Franciscan, Dr. Walsh, in his remonstrance, “as contrary to the letter, sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors; to the belief of the Christian Church for ten ages; and, moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature.”‡ Walsh, for the prudent exercise of reason, was himself abused in turn,—denounced as the partizan of Ormond. Bishop French declares, “He showed himself presumptuous, and too busy in censuring the cedars and pillars of the Church.” §

While the power of the Church was supreme under the dominion of the nuncio, the Catholic laity were despised amidst the most extravagant plans of Romish ambition. The overbearing interference of the clergy,

\* Clarke’s *Memoirs of the Supremacy*.

† *Ibid*.

‡ *History of the Remonstrance*.

§ *Works*, p. 13.



and the usurpations of the nuncio, dissolved the very elements of union, verifying the sagacity of Ormond—"Let them alone! My countrymen will be sure to ruin themselves." \*

There were amongst the Confederates loyal and gallant spirits, anxious to draw their swords in the cause of the King, and who cried shame at his desertion in his exigencies. Many of the Irish clergy were not indisposed to the enterprise; and silly though the nuncio was, he remonstrated with Rome on its refusal to sanction the oath of allegiance to a heretic King. Cardinal Pampilio had written to Rinuncini from the Vatican, "That it had been the uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome never to allow her ministers to make or consent to public edicts for the defence of the crown and person of a heretic King." † The nuncio, in reply, assured the papal see, "that all the Irish bishops had, without scruple, taken the oath; and that it was so rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even the clergy, that if he had opposed it in the least, he should have been suspected of having other views than those of his mere nunciature." ‡ The intentions of the priesthood abroad may be inferred from a despatch from Father O'Hertigan, their envoy at Paris, "that money would be sent from France, and after the enemies shall be expelled from Ireland, and all the holds of the lands put to Catholic hands, and few to Protestants, then you shall send men to help the King in England." § The confederated clergy at length resolved

\* O'Driscoll's History of Ireland, vol. i., p. 223.

† Carte, from the Memoirs of the Nuncio. Carte, in his Preface to the Life of Ormond, states that the Memoirs of the Nuncio take up 7,000 pages 4to. From this it may be inferred that he was very busy while in Ireland.

‡ Clarke's Memoirs.

§ Carte's Ormond.

“that they would send no men to the King’s assistance until such a peace should be settled as might demonstrate that they had really taken arms for the sake of religion, and to establish it in its full splendour.”\* The Pope of course approved of their determination, both perverse and perfidious; and to mark his approbation of their proceedings, he re-constructed the hierarchy.

The mission of Glamorgan† sullies the sincerity of Charles. Romantic promises of papal and military assistance had been faithlessly made by the nuncio and the priests. Glamorgan was sent by the King to conclude a treaty with the confederate Catholics, and to bring with him 10,000 men from Ireland. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, in a letter to Secretary Nicholas, observes, “I fear there is very much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. Oh! Mr. Secretary, these stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the King, and look like the effect of God’s anger towards us.”‡ “My instructions and powers,” writes Glamorgan, in a letter to Clarendon of the 11th of June 1660, “were signed by the King under his pocket signet, *with blanks for me to*

\* Carte, from the Register of the Supreme Council.

† Edward Somerset, originally Lord Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan, became on the death of his father Marquis of Worcester. The patent, and extraordinary powers conferred by Charles on Glamorgan have been accounted for by Lord Orford on the ground that the King had promised him, in case of the success of the Royal cause, the hand of his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth. Glamorgan is best known as the Marquis of Worcester, the supposed inventor of the steam-engine. It would seem that, after the Restoration, he was created Duke of Beaufort.—*Carlyle’s Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 305.

‡ Clarendon’s State Papers, vol. ii., p. 337.

*put in the names of the Pope or princes, to the end that the King might have a starting hole to deny the having given me such commission, if excepted against by his own subjects, leaving me, as it were, at the stake.”\** If Charles could not trust the priests, the priests could not trust Charles ; but during the negotiations of Glamorgan, the English Parliament supplied the Protestant forces in Ulster with money, and seized upon the town of Sligo. The Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, marched by order of the Confederates, at the head of their forces to relieve the place, but the display of his martial predilections ended in the unintentional betrayal of his ally. Probably this prelate, in throwing away the crozier to assume the sword, was as ambitious and vain-glorious as his successor John, “ the Lion of the fold of Judah.” Turbulent as a priest, he was however unsuccessful as a soldier, and his fate furnishes to those who tread in his footsteps—a salutary warning, that the union of military pretension with a sacred profession is unhallowed in the sight of Heaven. The holy warrior was slain in the affray by the Scots,† and in ransacking his baggage the victors found amongst many papers of consequence, a complete and authentic copy of the treaty which Glamorgan had concluded with the Confederates, and in which was contained a distinct recital of his commission, and of his oath

\* *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, p. 29.

† The nuncio paid the following tribute to the memory of the warlike archbishop, Malachias O’Kelly.—“ By his death, I understand that the inhabitants of Connaught were left destitute of direction and of resolution for war, there not being there either persons of courage or much skill, or true union amongst those who were inclined for it. For a long time after this event the ecclesiastical party remained beaten down in the councils and public assemblies, where the archbishop was most powerful, both by his name and his eloquence.”—*From the Italian*.

to them.\* On reading these productions, Lord Digby declared “that the scandals formerly cast upon his Majesty for inciting the Irish rebellion were true, and that he designed to introduce popery even by ways most unkingly and perfidious.”† The King having availed of the subterfuge to disavow his authority, the mission of Glamorgan ended in his arrest for high treason; the war-rant protested “against his falseness, presumption, and folly.”‡

Perfidy lurked in the councils of the assembled clergy. The nuncio, in his letter to Cardinal Pampilio at Rome, announced that “the destruction of the King would be advantageous to the Irish, the triumph of the Parliament effectual for the establishment of popery in Ireland.”§ Resting on such support, Charles fell, and with him the monarchy. Charles bitterly repented his assent to the execution of Strafford, declaring at his own, that he considered the death which he was then about to suffer as the just judgment of Heaven for his acquiescence.|| The Queen had seen her father perish by the knife of a fanatic monk; the priests who surrounded her were the accessories of puritan treason, and hurried her husband to the block. The causes of his fall may be traced to the wicked efforts of papal ambition to exalt its supremacy, even with the downfall of monarchical authority. On hearing of the fate of the King at Rome, “*Che questo de tagliar teste coronate!*” (“What pleasure to take a crowned head!”) is said to have been the exulting

\* Leland’s History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 267.

† Ibid, p. 268.

‡ Carte’s Ormond.

§ Clarke’s Memoirs.

|| Miller’s History Philosophically Illustrated, vol. iii., p. 433.



expression of papal ambition panting for universal usurpation.\*

There then arose men in England who heeded the terrors of the popedom less than they heeded the passing breeze. In place, however, of the protectorate of Cromwell, who has been styled "the immortal rebel," their priesthood pointed out the Pope to the credulous and ill fated Irish as their natural, assured, invincible protector. It is believed that the Confederates in arms were still fully equal on their own soil to resist any aggressive movements of the Parliament. Such seems to have been the opinion of the republican leaders themselves; for we read in Ludlow, that they remonstrated with the Catholics thus; "With respect to the point of religion, there was a wide difference between us; we only contending to preserve our natural rights therein, without imposing our opinions upon others; whereas you would not be contented, unless you might have the power to compel all others to their imposition on pain of death." The Catholic population of Ireland during the convention of Kilkenny was estimated by Sir William Petty to exceed the Protestant in the proportion of fifteen to one. Under anything resembling subordination or discipline, the result in their favour must have been certain.

When Ormond was about to lead the native army to oppose the usurpation and invasion of Cromwell, the Catholic laity besought the assembled clergy to aid him. Their answer was an excommunication, wherein they declared,—“We deliver unto Satan all that should feed, keep, or adhere to the Lord-Lieutenant, by giving him subsidy, contribution, or intelligence, or by obeying his commands.”† By a fulmination of the nuncio, the city of

\* Clarke's *Memoirs of the Supremacy*. † O'Driscoll's *Ireland*.



Kilkenny, the seat of Ormond and his power, was interdicted; the tabernacles of the churches were ordered to be left open, the lights to be quenched, and the administration of the sacraments to the living or the dying prohibited.\* Thus was Ormond opposed alike by the Puritan adherents of the Parliament—by the Catholic followers of the priests. Masters of the prejudices and passions of the people, the madness of the clergy was supreme with popular infatuation. The effects of their frantic intemperance was to paralyze all efforts, and afterwards to let in that tide of desolation which overwhelmed the clergy and their flocks in one common ruin. “The luckless Irish,” observes Moore, “while they vaunted, little foresaw what blood and suffering was in store for them.”† Thus did priestly intrusion—

“ Like a deadly blight,  
Come o’er the councils of the brave  
To blast them in their hour of night.”

On the nomination of Cromwell to the chief command, he professed that the difficulty which appeared in the expedition was his chief motive for engaging in it. The cruelties subsequently perpetrated by the iron hand of Cromwell, his career of spoliation, are thus traced to the Confederates rendered impuissant by the intemperance of the priesthood. The stern historian of the republic declares “that the new Commonwealth of England could never be in security or honour as long as the neighbouring island remained a theatre for the intrigues and hostilities of those by whom it was opposed.”‡ “It was this

\* McGhee’s Life of Bishop Rothe. Duffy’s Library of Ireland, p. 117.

† Moore’s Ireland.

‡ Godwin’s History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 140.

situation of things that determined the English Government to put forth its military strength for the invasion of Ireland," and he adds, "to oppose them the Catholic was deficient in all the qualities of a soldier."\* Necessity is the name under which all enormities are generally excused, but Cromwell declared at Drogheda, that he would sacrifice the Irish to the ghosts of the English whom they had massacred !

The army of the Protector, flushed with victory, combined discipline with enthusiasm, confidence with courage : colours blessed by the priests soon drooped before the broadswords of the holy warriors of Cromwell. If Cromwell could sigh and cant, and weep and pray, he could also fight. With unbounded ambition, undoubted courage, he combined impenetrable dissimulation. Justice extorts this acknowledgment, that he refused, though solicited, to become the royal master of those whose servant he had sworn to remain.

1650. The invasion of Ireland was the first military achievement of the Commonwealth, and in a short time laid the country at the feet of the Parliament. The Irish submitted to a power that has ever proved irresistible. A Catholic bishop, Nicholas French, thus described its progress :—"When Cromwell came over, like a lightning he passed through the land, taking in provinces, walled towns, and cities."† On the approach of danger the crafty Italian fled. Curry, the Catholic historian, informs us, "that the nuncio left, to the great joy of the principal nobility and gentry, and the most respectable ecclesiastics of Ireland."‡ A Catholic author, Dr. Lynch, Archdeacon

\* Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 156.

† Works of Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns ; Duffy's Library of Ireland, p. 13.

‡ Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland.

of Tuam, afterwards titular Bishop of Killala, declares, "I loved the nuncio, but I feared his ultramontane policy. It is most certain that he was the cause of our woe, and the beginning of our ruin. To the Irish his fulminations were most disastrous, and should therefore be noted in black, and ranked amongst the most inauspicious days"\* The eminent Catholic bishop, Dr. Doyle, in his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee, in 1825, declared "Rinuncini came here as a political emissary, and did a great deal of mischief."† The priesthood had thus forced England, in self-defence, into Protestant ascendancy; hence arose the exclusion of Catholics from power. They long looked back to the days of the confederation with recollections of deep humiliation, shame at the career of their clergy, grief at the prospects it had blasted, horror at the desolations it entailed!

The Cromwellians had formed the exterminating resolution, that when they once drew the sword—they would throw away the scabbard. On the approach of Cromwell turbulent ecclesiastics became terrified at their own misdeeds, and then vainly attempted to allay the disorders they had excited. The fanatics, however, readily believed that the priests had given impulse to the atrocities of the natives, and that feeling aggravated the retaliation. The English accordingly, in the frantic fury of their revenge, were no less cruel than the rude Irish had been in their barbaric outrages. Both spared neither age nor sex. As usual with the Irish, the retribution was far more frightful than the attack. Panting for forfeitures and pillage, the only apprehension the invaders expressed was, of too speedy a suppression of the rebellion. Tipperary had acquired, in the days of Elizabeth,

\* *Alithinologia*.      † *Parliamentary Reports*, vol. viii., p. 218.

an hereditary title to turbulence. Spenser, who, to the inspiration of a poet added the characters of a secretary of state and a historian, informs us that shire "was the only county palatine in Ireland, and as the Queen's writs did not run in the pale of the Lord of Desmond, a privilege place of spoils and stealths."\* The portion which did not belong to the Desmonds had been the palatinate of the Lords of Ormond from 1328 to 1716, when that jurisdiction which had previously excluded that of the Crown, was abolished by statute.† A character thus

\* View of the State of Ireland, p. 47.

† Counties Palatine were derived from Counts Palatine, or Counts of the Palace, and were of Norman introduction. A very learned ancient French writer thus explains their origin :—"Sous la première et la seconde race de nos Rois, les comtes faisoient la fonction dans les provinces, et dans les villes capitales du royaume, non seulement de gouverneurs, mais encore celle de juges. Leur principal employ estoit d'y decider les differents et les procès ordinaires de leur justiciables ; et où ils ne pouvoient se transporter sur les lieux, ils commettoient à cet effet leurs vicomtes et leurs lieutenans. Quant aux affaires d'importance et qui meritoient d'estre jugées par la bouche du prince, nos mêmes rois avoient des comtes dans leurs palais, et près de leurs personnes, auxquels ils en commettoient la connoissance et le jugement qui estoient nommez ordinairement, a cause de cet illustre employ—Comtes du Palais, sur Comptes Palatins"—*Dacange, Dissertations sur l'Histoire de St. Louis*. Palatine, a title thus originally derived from palace, conferred on those to whom it was delegated, the power of holding courts of justice in the provinces, generally in their own palaces. They had, according to Bracton, "Regalem potestatem in omnibus." Lib. iii., c. 8. They might pardon treasons, murders, felonies : they appointed all judges and justices of the peace ; all writs and indictments ran in their names, as in other counties in the King's ; and all offences were laid against *their* peace, and not "contra pacem domini regis." 4 Inst. 204. These independent palatinate jurisdictions were erected amongst the first feudal institutions in England, and subsequently introduced into Ireland as a protection to favoured districts against their inimical neighbours, in the hope that pecu-

acquired has survived long after its causes had ceased. Its name was probably an additional attraction to Cromwell, who, pointing out its plains to his soldiers, exclaimed, "There is a country worth fighting for!" Tipperary accordingly became to the holy warriors of the Protector a land of peculiar promise. If a priestly synod assembled at Cashel, at the dictation of Adrian, the only English pope, betrayed Ireland to Henry II., a more recent priestly synod assembled at Thurles, actually fancied that Ireland had been betrayed back to *them*! An infatuation already the parent of much mischief to educational, industrial, intellectual, national progress. The atrocities of the scenes and times of Cromwell have been too often and too strikingly displayed on the canvas of history, to require to be now retouched. It has been well observed, that cruelties described in mass extort no sentiment, save that of a general unappropriated commiseration. Sir William Petty says that upwards of 500,000 people perished by the sword in massacres or wars between the 23rd of October 1641, and the same day in 1652. We have the high authority of Clarendon, that the sufferings of the nation from the outset of the rebellion to its close, had never been surpassed but by those of the Jews in their destruction by Titus.

"We were then," observes the republican historian of the Commonwealth, "presented with one of the peculiar excellencies of the Roman Catholic religion, for none of the priests had the baseness to forsake their flocks. In

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liar privileges might render the proprietors more zealous and watchful in their defence. The effects alluded to by Spenser, were probably in after times increased by those and the adjacent territories having become peculiarly Cromwellian.



the days of their prosperity they had shown themselves ambitious and arrogant, deeply engaged in the troubled sea of politics, and instigating their followers to all the aggressions and all the obstinacy which had produced an eleven years' war, and had involved Ireland in miseries incalculable. In the hour of their trial they stood forth superior to human infirmity; with resolution inflexible, they encountered every possible calamity, suffered the utmost hardships and privations, and counted nothing worthy their attention but the glory of God and the salvation of souls."\* When the sea of blood had subsided, with a priesthood so humbled, so chastened, religion retired into seclusion and solitude. The few ecclesiastics who remained, poor and proscribed, assumed a simplicity and endured privations almost equalling those of the former anchorites of the desert.

The nuncio had returned to Rome to recount in person his exploits. During the protectorate, an English fleet, the first since the days of the crusaders, sailed up the Mediterranean. It was led by Blake, a name illustrious by his valour and his achievements—a name second only to Nelson in the annals of naval glory. In 1653 Blake appeared upon the papal coast; the alarm of the holy city was extreme—many of the rich citizens fled from Rome—trains of monks paraded the streets in penitential garbs; Blake had come to demand compensation for some of the piratical seizures of Rupert, which had been disposed of in the papal ports; remonstrances and supplications were vain—the right was clear—the power to enforce it at hand. The fiscal of the Pope Innocent X., at length paid down the sum insisted on, and the ships of Blake returned with the only money, probably, ever

\* Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv., p. 443.

transferred from the coffers of Rome to enrich the treasury of England.\*

The Pope subsequently endeavoured to excite a secret league against the Commonwealth ; but “a voice, that of Cromwell, which seldom threatened in vain, declared that unless favour was shown to the people of God, the English guns should be heard in the castle of St. Angelo.”† With the threat ceased the intrigues and fulminations of the popedom against England !

\* Dixon's *Life of Blake*, p. 277.

† Macaulay's *History*, vol. i., p. 139.

## CHAPTER III.

“No people,” declared Burke, “will ever look forward to posterity who do not sometimes look back to their ancestors.” A retrospect of the past thus exhibits priestly authority in Ireland perishing by its own intemperance. Terror of the sword—the propagandism of Cromwell—had reduced the lay confederates to submission. It was said of HIM by Cowley, “that he conquered his enemies by arms, his friends by artifice.” Acting on the maxim, build a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, republican England furnished ships for the Catholic Irish still in arms, and twenty thousand soldiers left their country for ever. The men whom the clergy had rendered impotent in the field at home—were dispersed as military adventurers over Europe; “men worthy,” according to Dalrymple, “of the happiest days of Athens or Sparta,”\* became mercenaries in the ranks of the enemies of Britain. We learn from Lingard, that the petition of the Catholics who remained, presented to the Parliament of the Commonwealth on the 30th of June 1652, merely prayed “such indulgence as might be thought consistent with the public peace, and their comfortable subsistence in their native land;” an acknowledgment alike of their humiliation—of the justice of their doom. A peremptory order had in the

\* Dalrymple’s Memoirs.

meantime banished the priesthood \* Fourteen bishops were driven into exile in one year ; the few that remained lurked about in secret : the war had left the land a desert. Whilst the Confederates were soliciting shelter in foreign lands, the followers of Cromwell, described by Swift as “ a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthusiasts ;” † men whom “ no king could rule, whom no god could please,”—men who substituted in the Lord’s Prayer, the “ Commonwealth” for the “ kingdom of Heaven,”—such men were partitioning amongst themselves the estates of the exiles, and settling on them. These were the settlers who derived their introduction, and deduced their title to a secure location in the country, from the madness of the priesthood. “ They thus gained,” observes Swift, “ by their rebellion, what the Catholics lost by their loyalty.” It has been often remarked as a strange retributive distinction, that whilst the republicans were subsequently despised, derided, degraded, and despoiled in England, their descendants became in Ireland a proud, powerful, and tyrannic oligarchy. ‡ One of the boldest measures of the protectorate, was its proposed intervention in favour of the religious liberties of France and Piedmont. With the life of the Protector—terminated in effect the government he had created.

1660. The Restoration found the Cromwellian proprietors in possession, but the return of a member of the House of Stuart to the throne—brought with it back to Ireland many of the banished families. After the restoration of Charles II., some of the Irish prelates and clergy, grieved at the expulsion of the high Catholics from their

\* Swift’s Works, by Scott, vol. viii., p. 442.

† Works of Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns.

‡ O’Driscoll’s Ireland.

ancient inheritances, groaning under the cruelties of the Cromwellian settlers, and apprehending further severities from the legislature, commissioned the Franciscan friar, Walsh, then in London, to present an address of congratulation to the King—on his return to the throne of his ancestors, and to implore the benefit of the peace concluded with Ormond, in 1646. Walsh felt that the principal violaters of that peace had been the priests themselves; and the Remonstrance he prepared—contained a most distinct disclaimer of the temporal supremacy of the Pope. This the more violent of the clergy did not approve, and they demanded that the terms should be debated and settled in a National Synod. Reilly, the Catholic Primate of Armagh, and French, Catholic Bishop of Ferns, both then in exile, wrote supplicatory letters to Ormond, entreating permission to return to Ireland, and promising to atone for their past transgressions by sustaining the Remonstrance. The Synod met at Dublin on the 11th of June 1666, when the Primate suddenly appeared, and violating his pledge, preached zealously against its adoption. It was then proposed, that such of the priesthood as had rendered themselves obnoxious to the laws during the Irish war, should implore the pardon of the Crown; but they all exclaimed that they knew of no guilt or crime committed in that war. The whole proceedings of the meeting were intemperate and tumultuous. The majority of the priesthood, when freed from restraint, and panting for power, were, as usual, infatuated and incorrigible. The assembly broke up without any decision; the members violently inflamed against each other, divided into two contending factions—those who supported and those who opposed the Remonstrance.\* The chief

\* Walsh's History of the Remonstrance, First Treatise, part i.



ambition of the popes for a long period after the Reformation, had been to re-erect the tottering structure of the supremacy; but finding the task hopeless, they seem to have abandoned it in despair. The dissensions of an Irish synod, which invariably assembles only to dispute, differ, and disgrace itself, seems to have inspired Pope Alexander VII. with fresh courage. Indignant that his temporal authority should be doubted or denied, he specially appointed Peter Talbot, brother of the afterwards famous Tyrconnell, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, for the express purpose of canonically punishing and expelling the remonstrants. Walsh and the moderate men amongst the clergy were accordingly excommunicated, and obliged to fly. The turbulent priests were again triumphant, but their triumph was again destined to recoil heavily upon the people.\*

The priests, during their expatriation, had been hawking, with the approval of the Pope, a phantom crown through every Court in Europe. Nicholas French, the Catholic Bishop of Ferns, and Hugh Rochford, were the ambassadors: the terms of their commission were “to treat and agree with *any Catholic* prince, state, republic, or *person*, as they might deem expedient.” They finally, while openly professing their attachment to Charles II., perfidiously invited the Duke of Lorraine to Ireland, “engaging, upon his appearance with his forces, to deliver up the island to him and declare him sovereign. Primate Boyle produced the original instrument at the Privy Council.”† According to Clarendon, total absence of principle in Charles governed his avowed policy—to prefer his enemies, to neglect his friends. He heartlessly relied on the principle of the latter

\* Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii., pp. 461, 462.

† Swift's Works, vol. viii., p. 448.

to secure them to him. Surrounded by worthless men, and still more worthless women, he promised everything to everybody, and violated every promise to all. "Shaftesbury," said Charles to his chancellor, "you are the greatest rogue in England!"—"Of a subject, sire," replied the other, bowing respectfully, "I am!" In Charles were blended the worst qualities of man—base ingratitude, private faithlessness, public corruption, unblushing profligacy. The reign of Charles was the era of good laws, of bad government, refuting the maxim—"measures, not men."\* Charles, during his misfortunes, had made repeated promises to the Pope and the great Catholic princes of protection to his subjects of that religion,† and the returned exiles claimed their ancient estates. "To the favour of the Crown few of the old or of the new occupants had any pretensions: the despoilers and the despoiled had for the most part been rebels alike."‡

The sturdy Cromwellians threatening an appeal to arms to defend their possessions—alarmed the indolent recklessness of Charles, who concealed his designs under the cloak of duplicity. A heart cold, false, and ungrateful, was decided in its course by the betrayal into his hands of the proffer of his crown. The blood of the father was atoned for by priestly perfidy in the eyes of the son; and Charles preferred as subjects the adherents of the republican regicides—the descendants of the late usurpers, to the Catholic loyalists, the followers of the confederate prelacy. A commission did issue for the avowed object of restoring some of the *innocent* exiles, but those who had attached themselves to the nuncio and the

\* Introduction to Mr. Fox's History.

† Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. ii., p. 463.

‡ Macaulay's England, vol. i., p. 186.

ecclesiastical party were expressly excluded from being declared *innocent*.\* Ten years of the reign of Charles were passed in establishing the ascendancy—extending the territorial acquirements of the Protestants, by the Acts of Explanation and Settlement. During seven years, the hopes and expectations of the Catholics who had been dispossessed were faithlessly encouraged to be perfidiously depressed. The English settlers having won their estates by the sword, “had,” said Sir William Petty, “at least a gambler’s title to them ;” and that title they maintained. The Catholics who were excluded by the Act of Settlement, in disgust transferred their allegiance to France. There they became the founders of that gallant corps, afterwards covered with renown on every battle-field in Europe, under the immortal name of the Irish Brigade—a band whose valour, devotion, heroism, chivalry abroad, when apart from the priests, who at home had hung like an evil spell upon them—extorted the admiration of every age. “Two Irish regiments at Cremona, in 1702,” declared a distinguished senator in the British Parliament, “did more injury to the high allies than all their forfeited estates were worth.”† We read in the despatches of the great Duke of Marlborough—the Protestant Marlborough, the attached associate in the field—of the Catholic Prince Eugene—that he was anxious to receive with open arms the soldiers of the Brigade. In a letter from the Hague of the 21st of April 1705, he tells Mr. Secretary Harley,—“I know not where the Irish regiments in the French pay may serve this campaign, but it is likely some of them may come upon the Moselle. I believe, in that case, it might not be difficult to influence good numbers to quit that

\* Carte’s Ormond, Hallam, O’Driscoll.

† Wilson’s Historical Records.

service.”\* In another letter of the 8th of June 1705, from the camp at D’Elf, he states “that deserters from the Irish regiments in the service of France arrived every day;”† and in another despatch to Harley, from the camp at Rousselaer, of the 28th of June 1706, he observes,—“As occasions offer, I do give all the encouragement I can to the Irish to come off to us.”‡ It may therefore be fairly inferred—that the self-exiled Catholics felt dissatisfied at finding themselves arrayed in the ranks of the enemies of their country. When the sacrifice of Count Dillon by the guillotine,§ and the terrors of revolutionary France drove, subsequently, the remnant of the Brigade to enrol themselves again in the armies of England, *there*, at least, they sustained the traditionary name which the motto on their arms and colours conferred, “*semper ubique fideles*.” What privileges withheld—what rights denied—what pledges violated—what invasion of property or liberty are now complained of, to justify in the eyes of God or man the array of subjects of the British Crown in the armies of a hostile state? From the glories of Marlborough, the Irish Catholics at home were excluded by proscriptive laws:—they shared those still greater of Wellington, their fellow countryman. Associate victors of every field of Spain,—they boast with their fellow subjects of the trefoil union, equal participation in the perils and the pride of Waterloo. In the profession of arms they attain the same rank, acquire the same rewards, aspire to the same honours. On the other various highways of life—citizens of the same state, endowed with the same attri-

\* Letters and Despatches of John Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii., p. 9.

† Ibid, p. 83.

‡ Ibid, p. 647.

§ Arthur General Count Dillon, guillotined at Paris 13th April 1794.



butes, protected by the same laws, secured in the same political existence—they enjoy the same franchises, the same religious freedom. Are the Catholic laity prepared to fling these blessings to the winds—to devote themselves and their sons to the despotism of ultramontane intolerance,—to become the priest-ridden slaves of a pope-ridden priesthood?

1678. On the first news of the popish plot—that offspring of alarm and credulity—reaching Dublin, Peter Talbot, then Catholic archbishop, was imprisoned. By a proclamation of the 16th of October, all Jesuits, and also all bishops and clergy who exercised jurisdiction under the Pope, were commanded to depart the kingdom before the 20th of November, and on that day another proclamation forbade all Catholics to enter the castle of Dublin, and the markets in several towns.\* The designs of the priests may be learned from a letter of Colman the Jesuit to Father La Chaise, the confessor of Louis:—"We have here," said he, "a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has for a long time domineered over this northern world. There were never such hopes since the death of our Queen Mary as now in our days. God hath given us a prince who is become, I may say, by a miracle, zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work."† Thus did the priests delude themselves and their dupes, for this letter proves the existence of a plot, but not, perhaps, the plot of Oates. That plot—mysterious in its own times, still unrevealed in ours—was seized on in England as a pretext for resisting the tyrannic tendencies of the Stuarts: Charles it furnished

\* Warburton's and Whitelaw's History of Dublin, vol. i., p. 218.

† State Trials, vol. vii.



with an excuse for treacherous severities in Ireland—against that religion which he himself embraced in a death-bed repentance.

1685. The accession of James II., a cruel and gloomy bigot, alarmed the conscience of England; apprehension of that event had led to the repeal, in 1677, of the statute respecting the burning of heretics. In Ireland that accession again raised the hopes of the exiled Catholics; with the restoration of their creed they anticipated the restoration of their estates. It has been justly observed, that in the attachment of James to Catholicity there was but little religion. With him sterile bigotry was the motive, tyranny the aim. When too odious, even as Duke of York, to be endured in England, he was sent out of sight to Scotland. His administration there was marked by odious laws, by barbarous punishments, and by judgments to the iniquity of which even that age furnished no parallel. While he presided over the torture of state prisoners before the Scottish privy council, it was remarked, that he “seemed to take pleasure in the spectacle, which some of the worst men then living were unable to contemplate without pity and horror. He not only came to council when the torture was to be inflicted, but watched the agonies of the sufferers with that sort of interest and complacency with which men observe a curious experiment in science.”\* “He who had complained so loudly of the laws against Papists, declared himself unable to conceive how men could have the impudence to propose the repeal of the laws against the Puritans.”† He whose favourite theme had been the

\* Macaulay's History, vol. i., p. 271.

† His own words reported by himself; Clarke's Life of James II., vol. i., p. 656.—*Orig. Mem.*

injustice of requiring civil functionaries to take religious tests, established in Scotland, when he resided there as viceroy, the most rigorous religious test that has ever been known in the empire.\* He who had expressed just indignation when the priests of his own faith were hanged and quartered, amused himself with hearing Covenanters shriek, and seeing them writhe while their knees were beaten flat in the boots.† In this mood he became King, and he immediately demanded and obtained from the obsequious *ESTATES* of Scotland, as the surest pledges of their loyalty, the most sanguinary law that has ever in our island been enacted against Protestant nonconformists."‡ "In England his authority, though great, was circumscribed by ancient and noble laws. *Here* he could not hurry dissenters before military tribunals, or enjoy at council the luxury of seeing them swoon in the boots. Here he could not drown young girls for refusing to take the abjuration, or shoot poor countrymen for doubting whether he was one of the elect."§ Such was the monster who, after he had been hurled from the throne, became the idol of the Irish priests,—and who, if the country had not been rescued from him and them, would probably have gratified their sympathies, so congenial with his own, by the introduction and establishment of the inquisition in Ireland.

To the spiritual advisers of his queen, the beautiful but ill-fated Mary Beatrice of Modena—who, by their intrigues and indiscretions, aggravated his own misdeeds,

\* Act of Parliament, carried in August 31, 1681.

† Burnett, vol. i., p. 583.—Wodron III., vol. ii. Unfortunately the acts of the Scottish Privy Council, during almost the whole administration of the Duke of York.

‡ Macaulay's History, vol. i., p. 494. § Ibid, p. 499.

and revived the traditional execration of his race—may be traced the acceleration of the fall of James in England. His understanding was greatly inferior to that of his predecessor; but whatever may have been the crimes and follies of James, it has been truly remarked, he was punished for the sins of his brother as well as for his own.

On his flight, a free Parliament recorded this memorable declaration:—"James II., King of England, by violating, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, the fundamental laws, has abdicated the government." Edward Petre, a Jesuit and his confessor, had been admitted a member of his privy council. The Pope had refused the entreaty of James to make Petre a bishop, alleging that such a nomination would be contrary to the rules of the Jesuits, to which order he belonged. James had himself the design of conferring on him the archbishopric of York,\* if Rome could be got to recognize the Anglican nomination by the hands of Sancroft; but it seems that Petre, in his humility, aspired, like Wolsey, to be Lord Chancellor.† With priests the King had what he called his "closetings," illuminated only by spiritual light derived from the dimmed and distant planet of the Vatican.

In order to exhibit his attachment to the principles of civil liberty, those whose lives had been spared at the bloody assizes after the rebellion of Monmouth, were sold by James and his courtiers as slaves in the West Indies;—to illustrate his estimate of the sentiments of religious freedom expressed in his declaration of indulgence, the Duke of Somerset was dismissed from the household by the King, for respectfully refusing to join in the procession,

\* Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. ii, p. 241.

† Mazure, vol. ii., p. 290, quoted by Hallam.

when the pope's Nuncio made his public entry into Windsor—an act, as the law then stood, of high treason.\* While James proclaimed at home his attachment to religious toleration, he obeyed the priests by sending an ambassador to France, to express to Louis his high admiration of the persecution of the Protestants, which resulted from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes!† That edict had for eighty-seven years protected the Huguenots; that revocation drove 50,000 men into exile, to swell the enemies of Catholicity and of James in the British isles.‡

The mission of the profligate Castlemaine to Rome had given grave offence in England. An English cardinal of the house of Howard was then resident at Rome. Whatever the predilections of the churchman for papal ascendancy may have been, they yielded to that attachment to his country which has ever ennobled “all the blood of all the Howards.” Pope Innocent XI., who then filled the chair, was too deep a politician to admire the childish measures of James, and learning from the cardinal the true state of feeling in England, he but coldly received the King's ambassador. He felt that James was striking too openly at those laws and opinions, which he would more securely have undermined in silence and secrecy. The cardinals even sneeringly declared, that James merited excommunication for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that still subsisted in England;§ and it was said, that the Pope was not displeased at the prospect of his dethronement. The conduct and feelings of Rome towards James

\* Cooke's History of Party, vol. i., p. 439.

† Millar's Historical View, vol. iii., p. 426.

‡ Laing's History, vol. ii., p. 159.

§ Lord Lyttleton's History of England, vol. ii.



in his early disasters supply in history a strange political paradox. Innocent had been previously led to hope that the Prince of Orange would assume the command of the allied armies on the Rhine, and defend the rights of the empire and the Church against the aggrandizing ambition of Louis the Great of France; and to this design he had promised to contribute considerable subsidies. James had even debased himself by the meanness of his submission to France. Barillon, the French ambassador, in writing to his master, repeats expressions which the English King had used to him. "I had," said he, "been brought up in France: I had eaten his majesty's bread, and my heart is French." \* Whether the cause was contempt for James, or apprehension of Louis, it is undeniable, according to Ranke, that the Pope attached himself to an opposition that was in a great measure based on Protestant resources and motives.†

Castlemaine on his return was impeached, in 1689; yet his defence, if sincere, seems to have had some reason in it: "The Pope," said he, "is a very considerable temporal prince, whose territories border on two seas, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. If, then, our merchants should be by storm or other necessities driven into his ports, if Englishmen should be surprised by any Roman party as they travel in a neighbouring country, shall our government, (not to mention a hundred greater accidents,) want power to send a messenger to ransom or compound for them."‡ Castlemaine was committed to the Tower for high treason, "*for endeavouring to reconcile this kingdom to Rome, and for other high crimes and misdemeanors;*"

\* Trollope's Appendix, p. 147.

† Ranke's History of the Popes, vol. ii., p. 279.

‡ State Trials, vol. xii., p. 609.



and up to this hour a British minister has been unable to establish diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome.

The wit of Sydney Smith thus ridicules the terrors of the bugbear—the Pope—in our days. “The sooner,” said he, “we become acquainted with a gentleman, who has so much to say to eight millions of our subjects—the better. I have no love of Popery ; but the pope is at all events better than the idol of Juggernaut, whose chaplains I believe we pay, and whose chariot I dare say is made in Long Acre. We pay 10,000*l.* a-year to our ambassador at Constantinople, and are startled with the idea of communicating diplomatically with Rome, deeming the Sultan a better Christian than the Pope !”\*

James was the tool of a weak woman and a vicious priest. To them may be traced the tragic events which followed. Even comedy took its tone from the scenes around her ; and a plot—the incarnation of mischief, was in those days, incomplete on any stage without a priest and a woman. According to Miss Strickland, one of the objects of the mission to Rome was to solicit a cardinal’s hat for Rinaldo D’Este, the Queen’s uncle. This he afterwards resigned on his marriage.† James received the nuncio of the Pope in full solemnity, surrounded by the clergy, at St. James’s. Even St. Paul’s had been altered by the orders of James at the instance of the priests ;—against the remonstrances of Wren, side oratories were added to fit it for Catholic service.‡ “When at length the Spanish ambassador, Don Rouquillo, remon-

\* Fragment on the Roman Catholic Church. Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith. Longman and Co., Lond. 1850, p. 684.

† Miss Strickland’s Lives of the Queens, vol. ix., p. 347.

‡ Spence’s Anecdotes, p. 298.

strated with the King on the impolitic lengths to which priestly zeal was urging him, James, incensed at his boldness, inquired, 'Is it not the custom in Spain for the King to consult his confessor?' 'Yes, Sire,' answered the proud but prudent Castilian, 'and that is the reason our affairs succeed so ill!'"\*

1686. Tyrconnell, who had acquired an enviable notoriety under the name of "Lying Dick Talbot," was first appointed lieutenant-general under Clarendon; he subsequently became lord-deputy in Ireland. With the power of the state in his hands, the clergy fancied the country their own. While the indignation of England was roused to frenzy at the barbarities of the brutal soldiery of Kirk, shocked at the wholesale murders of Jeffries, horrified at the obdurate revenge of James to his wretched nephew Monmouth,—“to see him and not to spare him was an outrage on humanity and decency;” †—the hope of the exaltation of their church made James an object of adulation with the infatuated Irish. While the broadswords of Scotland had successfully achieved religious freedom, by rescuing that country from episcopacy, subserviency to priestly influence was busily engaged in preparing manacles for the mind in Ireland. Such was the delight of the Catholic party in Dublin on hearing of the birth of the first pretender, that the lord mayor committed the bell-ringers of Christ Church cathedral to durance, because the bells did not ring merrily enough on an occasion so joyous to the nation. ‡ “Though James had abandoned the Irish, the Irish had not abandoned James. Against his undisturbed predecessors

\* Jesse's *Memoirs of the Stuarts*, vol. iv., p. 420.

† Macaulay.

‡ Leland, vol. iii., pp. 461, 462.

they had maintained desultory but implacable war ; to him, expelled and outlawed, they exhibited, as were their character and their custom, a perverse loyalty, like their perverse rebellion, blind to its object.”\* A fugitive from the kingdom of his inheritance, a mendicant in that of his asylum, James strove to hide his disgrace in the seclusion of St. Germain. Tyrconnell sent Rice, then chief baron, to France, to solicit his presence in Ireland. The abject James threw himself on the fidelity of the Irish, to become to the country of his sojourn—a calamity and a curse.

The Catholic clergy, shuffling off the coil of humility, again aspired to exaltation, and were received in full canonicals by James, in state at the castle of Dublin ; their address read by the right reverend predecessor of Paul Cullen. While applauding the royal zeal for the promotion of Catholic faith, it reduced the means of accomplishing that end—to the immediate restoration of all the property of the Church to the ancient establishment.† The clergy entertained their imaginations with the gorgeous magnificence of a triumphant Church, a splendid hierarchy, a subjugated people, a Catholic King, and papal supremacy. Their doctrine harmonized with their ambition, that the State belonged to the Church ; that the ministers of religion were the fittest ministers of the Crown. After James had been some months in Ireland, Danby, the former but fallen minister, was heard to declare, “ If King James would only quit his priests he might still retrieve his affairs.”‡

\* Sketch of the Past and Present State of Ireland, by the Rt. Hon. J. W. Croker.

† O’Driscoll’s Ireland.

‡ Knight’s Pictorial History of England, Book ix., p. 18.

The priests soon, however, became too turbulent, too intemperate, too audacious, even for James. They and their votaries disdained obedience to any orders conflicting with the ascendancy of the faith. A contest now arose between the priests and the King, and in that contest James was mortified at finding himself foiled and defeated. The priests had seized and retained the churches—with a contemptuous disregard of the repeated orders of the King. His authority in every matter savouring of the Church, they totally renounced.\* Under the discipline of such leaders, themselves under such subordination, the destiny of Ireland was no longer doubtful. The audacity which had displeased James had outraged Protestant feeling, and was remembered against the priesthood, when adversity again commended the bitter chalice back to their lips. Every act of insolent assumption was treasured to supply a fresh link for their fetters, when fate again placed their necks beneath the foot of power. When the priests urged Tyrconnell to a breach of the Act of Settlement, he was opposed by the Catholic members of the privy council. Lord Bellairs had declared, "Talbot was madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms!" Yet Talbot was the object of priestly admiration, the prudent adviser of James!

While the priests were thus acquiring the dominion of the country, James, in order to carry on the war, had coined all the pewter and brass he could collect in the kingdom—into money; and we learn from "The Memoirs of Ireland," by the author of "The Secret History of Europe," that those who had charges on their estates, poured in the base money on their creditors. "They making some scruple of taking about 30s. for 1,000l.,

\* Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii., p. 545.

which was pretty near the difference *at that time* in value between the silver and brass coin, King James issued his proclamation, dated February 4th, 1689, to make that money current in all payments whatsoever, whether judgments, mortgages," &c. "*Fitton, the Catholic Lord Chancellor, compelled trustees for orphans and widows to receive their mortgages in this kind as well as others.*"\*

So blind, so infatuated were the lower Irish, that while the priests encouraged and preached exclusive dealing, even the use of the base money in the purchase of the necessities of life was denied to their opponents. We are told by Archbishop King, "that Sir Robert Parker and some others blabbed out at a coffee-house, that they designed to starve one half of the Protestants and hang the other half. We were sensible that they were in earnest by the event, for no Protestant could get a bit of bread to buy, and hardly a drink of water, in the city of Dublin; twenty or thirty soldiers stood constantly before every bakehouse, and would not suffer a Protestant to come nigh them."†

Ireland became the battle-field of armies contending for the crown of three kingdoms. To mark his respect for the military acquirements of the Irish army, on whose courage he relied to recover that crown, James appointed the ferocious Rosen, a German, his general. The Irish again solicited foreign aid; and, as usual, dissensions followed the arrival of their alien allies. The French despised those who invited them as rude and unpolished; they, in their turn, detested the French as presumptuous and arrogant.‡ The two nations had but one characteristic

\* Memoirs of Ireland, p. 180.

† King's State, 4to., p. 139.

‡ O'Driscoll's Ireland.



in common—gaiety ; but the gaiety of both was dissimilar and uncongenial to each. There still breathed some national spirit in the native soldiery ; they disdained to be dependents of France. James, on the recommendation of priests educated abroad, had insultingly superseded with foreigners the most devoted of the Irish officers. Some of them in disgust threw up their arms, and retired with their adherents. Such was the contempt of St. Ruth for James, such the ascendancy he assumed, such his confidence in priestly power over the Irish, that he required them to swear allegiance to his master, and his orders were issued in the name of Louis, and not of James.\* This was, according to Hallam, preparatory to an attempt to place the crown of Ireland on the head of the French King ; † the mere revival of a favourite design of the priests.

William had been in his infancy divested of his dignities by the Dutch through the hostility of Cromwell, who hated him for his connexion by blood with the race of Stuart.‡ That connexion, afterwards strengthened by one of marriage, raised him to the throne of James, who was both his uncle and his father-in-law. If he sacrificed domestic ties to personal ambition, the sacrifice was made at the shrine of public liberty. His ill success as a soldier may, perhaps, have led to his eminence as a statesman, and his reign illustrates the truth of the remark, “ that he who hath the worst title always makes the best king.” In 1588, Elizabeth rescued England from the Spaniards and the priests. The revolution of 1688—precisely a century after—redeemed England, regenerated the spirit of freedom, perhaps for the world. A distinguished Irish

\* Leland's Ireland, vol. iii., p. 599.

† Hallam's Constitution History, vol. iii., p. 530.

‡ Hume, vol. vii., p. 252.

Catholic authority has declared, "In matters of religion William was liberal, enlightened, and philosophical, equally a friend to religious as to civil liberty."\* William, whose name was yet unstained by the massacre of Glencoe, had, in Ireland, issued successive declarations of mercy, extending it to persons of every rank and station, whether natives or foreigners. These offers produced but little effect, "for the Irish were generally governed by their priests."† Schomberg said in a letter to William, "The priests are passionate to exhort the people to die for the Church of Rome." The evil spirit, which had blasted the hopes of Ireland in the warriors of the nuncio, revived in the ranks of the soldiery of James. The same fatality attended the Irish arms at home—the battles of the Boyne and of Aughrim were miscarriages, in which, while the heroism of their devotion atoned for the infatuation of their attachment, the Catholic soldiers lost everything but honour.

If proscriptive laws had augmented the forces of France with the Catholics of Ireland, parallel penal enactments against the Huguenots, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, drove the Protestants of France into the victorious army of William. The laws of Catholic France, the fertile inventions of priests, were infinitely more severe against the Protestants than the penal laws were against the Catholics. The sacred tie which united husband and wife was declared null. Children were torn by force from their Protestant parents and educated proselytes. Certificates of marriage were burnt by the common executioner, in the presence of the married pair, and their offspring bastardized. The husband was sent to the galleys—the wife into seclusion—the property of both confiscated.

\* Matthew O'Connor.

† Smollet's England.

Soldiers were sent on free quarters to the families of the Huguenots, hundreds were broken on the wheel, burned, and massacred in cold blood.\* Oh ! religion ! what crimes have been committed in thy name !

With the treaty of Limerick, far more liberal in its terms than the priests would have conceded to their opponents, ended the war. Under its protection the gallant army that had defended the city retired to France, and left behind but a nation of dejected slaves.† “The termination of the war was to the Catholics a sad servitude—to the Protestants a drunken triumph—to both, a peace without trade and without a constitution.”‡ With the Catholic proprietors defeat was again succeeded by banishment, conquest by confiscation. With the priesthood dejection became again the advent of pious humility. With all it was a subject of national lamentation, that the bill proposed in England by William Lord Russell, “To disable James Duke of York from succeeding to the throne,” had not become law.§ That law, had it passed, might have spared the blood of Russell ; Ireland it would have saved from James, from the priests, from attendant woes interminable.

“While James and his power lingered in Ireland, he assembled a pseudo Parliament. He had chosen the members, he chose the measures—an act of attainder proscribing thousands by name, thousands more by inference. From the Catholic, lately tyrannical, now subdued, the Protestant thought it justifiable to subtract all power. Obsolete penalties were revived, new restraints enacted,—exclusion of their ambition from the senate, of their par-

\* Chenevix, on *National Character*, vol. i., p. 524.

† O'Driscoll's *Ireland*.

‡ Grattan.

§ The Bill of Exclusion passed the Commons of England twice—the last time on the 21st of May 1679, by a majority of 207 to 128.

tiality from the magistracy, of their force from the field. That influence often misused should not be regained, possessions were forfeited, acquisitions forbidden. That disaffection should be impotent, weapons of offence were stricken from their hands, and the means of resistance removed, as its causes were multiplied. The Catholic when able proscribed the Protestant, the victorious Protestant copied the Catholic statute against its enactors.”\* Thus have the cumulative calamities with which the priests, through the instrumentality of James, overwhelmed the Catholics of Ireland, been condensed by a master and a living hand. The bigotry of James exciting just apprehension for national liberty, the excesses of the priests creating strong counteraction, tended ultimately to settle the institutions of the empire.

The priests continued to the end of the war mischievously busy. A scene of presumptuous folly occurring in the strong garrison of Charlemont on its capitulation, afforded table-talk to both camps. A reverend father forced a theological discussion on a British dragoon, whom he was so bold as to strike for his irreverence. The soldier, not to be behindhand with the pious man in any sort of argumentation, rejoined vigorously. When the clerical disputant, who had been sadly worsted in the latter contest, complained of his martyrdom to O'Regan the governor, described by Leland “as a brave Irish officer,” the comfort he received was, “I am glad of it; what had a priest to do to dispute religion with a trooper!”† An occasional repetition of such military discipline on clerical presumption in the present day, would, it is opined, tend to the promotion of religion as well as order.

\* Past and Present State of Ireland.

† O'Driscoll's Ireland.



Adversity teaches prudence sometimes even to Queens—rarely to priests. In conversation with the nuns at Chaillot, Mary Beatrice observed she never liked Petre; his violent counsel did the King much harm, and she believed he was a bad man.\* When Lord Stair was afterwards ambassador at Paris, she bitterly lamented to him the folly of her husband, and laid all the blame on Father Petre.† Yet James solicited a cardinal's hat for Petre. Her declaration respecting her son, the Chevalier St. George, afterwards the first pretender, is thus recorded in the diary at Chaillot. “Should my son return, you will not see any alteration in the Established Church. The utmost he can do is to shield the Catholics from persecution. He is too prudent to attempt innovations.”‡ What shield do the Catholics *now* require from persecution? What innovations do NOT the priests *now* attempt? Even James himself seems to have had his misgivings of them. His testamentary instructions to that son contain the following advice:—“’Tis not safe to let any of the natives of Ireland be governors of the garrisons; nor to have any troops in them but English, Scotch, or strangers; nor to tempt the natives to rebel, they being of a very uncertain temper, and easily led by their chiefs and *clergy*, and will always be ready to rise in arms against the English, and endeavour to bring in strangers to support them.”§ That son appears, however, to have inherited the folly of his father. A contemporary, who met him in Scotland in 1715, speaks of him thus: “He has all the superstition of a capuchin, but I found no tincture of true religion.

\* Miss Strickland's *Life*, p. 420.

† Jesse's *Memoirs of the Stuarts*, vol. iv.

‡ Miss Strickland's *Life of Mary*.

§ Appendix to Clarke's *Memoirs of James II.*



I conversed with very few amongst the Roman Catholics themselves, who did not think him too much of a papist.”\* Deprived of the presence, the countenance of that authority which “doth hedge a King;” reckless, probably ignorant of the awful examples of the past; deficient in the faculty of self-control, the priests of the present day are blindly and madly treading in the footsteps of their Jacobite predecessors. The priestly devotees, whatever phases their folly may assume—be it repealer, rebel, religionist—must recognize in themselves—the lineal descendants of the deluded adherents of James!

As had been ever the fate of Ireland, confiscations of properties, banishment of families, were the certain camp followers of war. The annals of that period, amongst many instances of reverse of fortune, present one affecting and instructive. Rice, chief-baron, the most eminent man of the Catholic bench, followed James in his flight back from Ireland to St. Germain. The property of Rice had been wasted in the wars, but he soon sickened of dependency in a foreign land, and returned to become an humble practitioner in the Court over which he had once presided. With abilities acknowledged, legal acquirements admitted, integrity known to all, he soon, in a stuff gown behind the bar, amassed a second independence—to replace that fortune which he had lost in the ravages of civil war.† The example is ominous; may we hope that the intemperance of wicked men may not multiply similar instances, that vain and vicious ambition may not lead to the repetition of such vicissitudes!

Here commences the era of Protestant supremacy—of Catholic subjugation. So completely extinct was the political existence of the Catholics—that no member of either

\* Earl of Mar.

† O'Driscoll's Ireland.

House of Parliament, in the reign of Anne, stood up to oppose the laws against the growth of popery. A few, affecting to clear themselves, resigned,—like Pilate, they washed their hands before the people as proofs of their innocence.\* The question whether the penal laws were justifiable in their original enactment, formed a subject of interesting inquiry in the evidence given by the celebrated Dr. Doyle, by far the ablest and most enlightened of the Catholic bishops, before a Committee of the House of Commons, in March, 1825:†—

“ *Question.* ‘Was there anything in the conduct of the Roman Catholics, in your opinion, during the reigns of the Stuarts, that justified Parliament in passing the penal laws against them?’ ”—“ *Answer.* ‘Yes. I think at that time the connexion of the Roman Catholics with the Stuarts was such as justified, and even made it necessary for the English Government to pass some penal laws against the Catholics, such as excluding them from offices of trust, and perhaps even from the councils of the Sovereign!’ ”

“ *Question.* ‘Inasmuch as that conduct was hostile to the principles of the constitution of England and civil liberty, are you of opinion that they were in that degree justifiable?’ ”—“ *Answer.* ‘I do think they were justifiable, nay, that it was their duty to pass restrictive laws against the Catholics, considering the political principles of the Catholics at that time; at that time restrictions were exceedingly necessary, as the Popes at that time pretended to have in this country rights and privileges which are utterly abolished and never can be revived.’ ” “ *Question.*

‘Is the claim that some Popes have set up to tem-

\* Plowden’s Ireland, vol. ii., p. 37.

† Parliamentary Reports, vol. viii., p. 190.

poral authority opposed to Scripture and tradition?"—  
 “*Answer.* ‘In my opinion it is opposed to both!’”\*

The historical events previously grouped in the sketches of the reigns of the four Stuart kings, led to those emphatic, just, and deliberate conclusions in the candid and cultivated mind of Dr. Doyle. It had long been the fashion to attribute the inroads of the popedom and its priesthood in those days on the civil rights of men, to the spirit of the age, and not to the spirit of the Church. The ambitious intolerance of that Church, however prejudicial it might then have proved to the immediate interests of the country, contributed unintentionally to promote the general well-being of the empire, by favouring the adjustment of the constitution. The papal see is again striving to blend itself and its influences with the laws, manners, institutions, frame and policy of states. If, in the extraordinary mutations of improvement in which society is revolving, the Catholics are alone not carried with them, the same lamentable causes must produce the same deplorable consequences. England had been historically taught to believe that her political ascendancy commenced with the overthrow of papal supremacy. She “has learned,” said Burke, “to snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.” The principles of an ultramontane priesthood constitute the most terrific of all tyrannies. Their very essence is contempt for man. The derivation of its name—beyond the mountains—which separate enterprising and warlike France from crushed and abject Italy, implies that its doctrines were unsuited to, and could not, at least, hitherto—exist in the intellectual fertility of the Gallican soil. The development of our race illustrates that principles early sown are the seeds

\* Parliamentary Reports, vol. viii., p. 190.

which produce fruit in manhood. Ultra-montanism condemns classic literature to substitute monkish barbarism, proscribes the light of science to regenerate mediæval darkness, anathematizes reason to stifle inquiry, identifies religion with absolutism, and, by impeding advance, strives to brutalize man. In seeking to substitute for the exalted worship of the divinity the adoration of the Virgin, it labours to restore the prophanations of heathenism, and in deifying the Pope, it unchristianizes the people. The endurance of obstructive intolerance for any time in a country of progress, will inevitably create a chasm between the past and the future conditions of society. Should the Catholics of the present day, at the dictation of a priesthood retrograding into the exploded absurdities of ultra-montane extravagance, re-assert the same doctrines, as aggressive and as dangerous as ever to civil liberty, which formerly led to its restriction—doctrines they disavowed, disclaimed, discarded and denounced for a century and a half—the same necessity for restrictive laws must again arise. What might have been withheld may be re-assumed, and the Catholics are the arbiters of their own fate. Should they create the alternative, whether England shall peril the treasure she prizes most, that liberty purchased with the blood of her best and bravest sons; or recal the privileges which the Catholics laboured so long and so earnestly to acquire, and the luxury of which they may prove themselves unworthy to enjoy, the members of that creed may rest assured—that the decision will be prompt, in its adoption inflexible, effective in its enforcement.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE penal code, whatever may have been the causes that produced it, was devised to extinguish an ancient gentry, to dislocate all the relations of social life, to poison the fountains of domestic peace, to beggar and barbarize the people. Designed on principles purely political, dictated by the recollection of what the vanquished had done themselves, and would, if victors, do again. Framed with a double design to fetter a powerful foe, to persecute that foe into a subservient friend. That code denuded the Catholics of their estates, prohibited them from inheritance, shut up their schools, stript them of the elective franchise, closed to them the Parliament and the bar, denied them municipal or military honours, barred against them the avenues to office on the bench or in the state. Power, place, patronage, were forbidden to the majority;—confined to the few,—Protestant was another name for the possessor, Catholic for the excluded,—the property of the father was often, by form of law, iniquitously legal, surrendered to the perjured apostacy of the son,—the houseless priest depended for shelter on the merciful protection of his Protestant neighbour. Bishop Boulter during the ascendancy,—avowed that the best system to govern Ireland was to set the people at variance on religion, that the Government might be strong and the people weak. The loyalty of the Catholic in those days had been



compared to that of the chained tiger to his keeper. Human nature forbad it to have been otherwise, when a Lord Chancellor of Ireland—Bowes—declared—that the Catholics were only known in the eye of the law for the purposes of punishment. Yet in those days Ireland had a boasted legislative independence! How different are the Catholics now, enjoying all the benefits and blessings which flow from her independent, equalized, rich and luxurious connexion with England!

In 1702, exertions were again made to spread the principles of the Reformation amongst the Irish, by preaching to them in their native language. The Catholic clergy, of course, opposed its progress: one priest, in order to draw off his congregation from their new devotion, exclaimed, that these prayers had been all stolen from the Church of Rome. “If so,” remarked a grave old man, who was listening attentively, “they have stolen the best, as thieves generally do!”\* While the preaching failed in its object, legislation proceeded with peculiar harshness in the time of Anne. The reign of that daughter of James intervened between the third William and the first George—to concentrate the severities of the penal code in Ireland,—to effectuate, in 1707, the union of Scotland with England. William, who had married Mary, the eldest daughter of James, was the son of his sister.—The Elector of Hanover, afterwards George I., had come to England to solicit the hand of Anne; but his father, probably from apprehensions of the fate of James, preferred his marriage with the Princess of Zell.† If that union with Anne had been solemnized, James would have had two royal and Protestant sons-in-law succeeding to

\* British Critic, January, 1828.

† Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, p. 356.

his throne ; the succession might, perhaps, have been unbroken in the line of the Stuarts,—a race, happily for England, now extinct.

Even after the death of James, France still regarded Ireland as a favourable soil on which to scatter the seeds of civil discord, by means of religious instruments. In 1708, Ambrose O'Connor, provincial of the Irish Dominicans, was sent by the French King in one of his frigates from Brest to sound the Irish. In his communications he informed the Court of France, "There are not 6000 regular troops in Ireland. I insinuated to the principal families that they ought to send to the King a trusty person to assure his Majesty of their heartiness ; but they durst not venture a deputation in so dangerous a juncture. *Even their own shadow affrights them !*" Prudence thus rendered the mission of the priest abortive. If the spirit of mischief had again prevailed, it would probably have led to the utter extermination of the Catholics by the sword, or their complete expulsion from the country, like that of the Moriscos from Spain.

The priesthood, perhaps from an abhorrent remembrance by those in power, of their former misdeeds,—perhaps from a hope of averting further misfortunes to the country—by their self-expatriation, became objects of peculiar legislative vengeance. At them were aimed the multiplied tyrannies of successive Parliaments. Grievous, indeed unendurable, must the provocation have been—goaded by the "treasons and stratagems" of a perverse clergy, must a Christian legislature have been ;—which, adopting the examples of the Arian Theodric, who declared it a crime to suffer a believer in the divinity of Christ to exist in the state,—of the apostate Julian in his attempt to win the Christians from Christianity,—pre-

cluded the Catholic priest from education at home, forced him to seek it abroad from the charity of an hostile state, and set a price upon his head on his return to impart it in his native land.

A Bill was actually presented in 1723, by the Irish Commons to the lord-lieutenant, authorising inflictions on the members of that body at which our manhood shudders; but the measure was repudiated with indignation by the government. It is observed by Burke, "that penal laws forced the people, by the forfeiture of all their civil rights, to submit to priestly authority in its most unbounded and extravagant sense." Everything, according to Swift, is different in Ireland from what it is everywhere else, but even *there* it would be a strange converse, if the unbounded restoration of civil rights were to produce the same pernicious effects which arose from their forfeiture.

Ireland had suffered so severely from her attachment to the fortunes of his father, that the attempt of the first pretender, in 1715, excited no movement. The Catholic laity first emerged from their obscurity in 1727, in an address to George II. on his accession, in which they declared, "We respect from the bottom of our hearts that legislation under which we suffer;" and they deem it an aggravation of their servitude that "it is suffered amidst that liberty, that peace, and that security, which under your Majesty's benign influence is spread on all around us."\* This document presents two important aspects; it may be almost deemed an admission of the justice of their doom, however oppressed; it is, at all events, an acknowledgment that during their subjection, the country enjoyed a happy state of tranquillity and peace.

\* Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland.

In 1727 a scarcity approaching to famine, drove the Protestant woollen-weavers of Ulster to emigrate in numbers to America, where their descendants in arms afterwards defended the lines of Pennsylvania against the English. Scarcely an Irish Roman Catholic quitted his country, yet in that year that body were first directly deprived of the elective franchise. Some races of men, it has been said, are born for subjection—political privileges ought to be attendant only on political fitness; the Celts court and covet mastery—they seem to be only perfectly happy when partially oppressed. Such assuredly is the case with their priesthood—“*Nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.*”\*

The early portion of the last century was in Ireland redeemed but by one great name. Swift has been thus graphically sketched:—“Ireland’s true patriot—her first, almost her last. Sagacious and intrepid, he saw—he dared; above suspicion, he was trusted; above envy, he was beloved; above rivalry, he was obeyed. His wisdom was practical and prophetic—remedial for the present, warning for the future. He saved his country by his courage, improved her by his authority, adorned her by his talents, and exalted her by his fame.”† Swift, in 1732, thus expressed his estimate of the Catholics of that day:—“It is a gross imposition on common sense to try to terrify us with the strength of the papists in Ireland; for popery, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough from the consequences it has to increase the rapine, sloth, and ignorance as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession.

\* Tacitus.

† Sketch of the Past and Present State of Ireland.



It is the contempt of the wise, the best topic for clamours of designing men, but the real terror only of fools. The papists are wholly disarmed—they have neither courage, money, nor inclination to rebel.”\* Swift saw the Catholics dejected, their priesthood proscribed—both subdued, their religion barely endured. He saw them, in ceasing to be the slaves of foreign states which had deceived and deserted them, become the sycophants of the power that conquered and oppressed them. He pitied while he despised, he admonished while he rebuked, he instructed while he reproached them.

The battle of Fontenoy in 1745,† the only victory which the galleries of Versailles—dedicated “To all the glories of France”—exhibit over Britain, encouraged in the same

\* Swift's Works, by Sir Walter Scott, vol. viii., p. 427.

† It is strange that the only two generals in the service of France who could boast of successes over the English, were neither of them really French—the Duke of Berwick and Marshal Saxe. James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick, was the son of James II. by Arabella Churchill, the sister of the Duke of Marlborough, and according to his own account, was born on the 21st of August, 1670, in the Bourbonnois. He took the field early, in Flanders, against his illustrious uncle. At the battle of Almanza, in Spain, in 1707, he defeated the combined forces of England and Portugal. He married Honora de Burgh, daughter of William Earl of Clanricarde, widow of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. The duke fell in the trenches at the siege of Philiptown, on the 12th of June, 1734, at the age of 63; his head was carried off by a cannon-ball, which Count Daun directed should be fired when the cannonier was sure of his aim. Daun, either an Irishman by birth, or the son of one, is said to have deeply lamented the fall of the duke, the result of singular and fatal precision. The English dukedom of Berwick had been forfeited in 1696. Marshal Saxe was by birth a German, and having served successfully against the armies of France, he was induced to enter that service to retrieve their fortunes. Although Saxe commanded at Fontenoy, the victory has been very generally attributed to the Irish regiments in the French line.



year<sup>d</sup> the fatal enterprise of Charles Edward, another of the Stuart race, the second Pretender; and at that period Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, to whom Pope attributes "every virtue under heaven," addressed the Catholics. After referring to the protection they then enjoyed, he observes, "that it would be highly imprudent as well as ungrateful to forfeit these advantages by making yourselves tools to the ambition of foreign princes, who fancy it expedient to raise disturbances amongst us, but as soon as their own ends are served will not fail to abandon you, as they have always done. Under Protestant governments, those of your communion formerly enjoyed a greater share of the lands of this kingdom, and more ample privileges. You bore your part in the magistracy and the legislature, and could complain of no hardships on the score of your religion. If these advantages have been since impaired or lost, was it not by the wrong measures yourselves took to enlarge them, in several successive attempts, each of which left you weaker and in worse condition than you were before? And this—notwithstanding the vaunted succours of France and Spain, whose vain efforts, in conjunction with yours, constantly recoiled on your own heads. Dear-bought experience hath taught you, and past times instruct the present." \* This temperate and impressive reasoning, stamped with sincerity and truth, produced its effects. The Catholics in subjection had grown harmless, even in the eyes of their enemies; not a single Catholic, lay or clerical, from Ireland, joined the standard of revolt. In acknowledgment of the loyalty of the priesthood, Lord Chesterfield, then Lord-Lieutenant, opened the chapels to the public, and protected the clergy.

\* Berkeley's Works, vol. ii., p. 233.—*London*, 1843.

The Viceroyalty of Chesterfield did not exceed in duration eight months ; it commenced—it terminated with the rebellion in Scotland. He who had been styled “ a wit among lords, and a lord among wits,” \* found the country tranquil, and by prudence kept it so. He courted the ascendant, he encouraged the timid, he conciliated the depressed, and he won all. An alarmist, a class then common about the Court in Ireland, rushed one morning during the troubles in Scotland into his bed-chamber, exclaiming, “ My lord ! my lord ! all Ireland is rising ! ” “ What hour is it ? ” was the only inquiry. “ Nine,” replied the terrified courtier. “ Then,” calmly remarked the witty peer, “ it is time for me to be *rising* also ! ”

It has been one of the characteristics of the Christian Church from its foundation, that unlike all the religions of antiquity and the East, there has never been any caste amongst its clergy,—it receives into its arms, and enrolls amongst its ministers, the sons of every class. Every man, the most humble in birth or fortune, who becomes a member of its faith, may be a minister of its creed. Sir William Petty, in his “ Survey of Ireland,” states that in his day, the priests were “ chosen for the most part out of the old Irish gentry, and thereby influenced the people as well by their interest as their office.” Mr. Theobald M’Kenna, a respectable Catholic authority, assures us, “ That in the seventeenth century, every Catholic family of note held it a duty to assign some children to the service of religion ; but this reverence,” he adds, “ has very much decreased. With the age of money, new notions had been introduced, more conformable to the spirit of a money-making people.” The daughters, however, of

\* By Dr. Johnson.

aristocratic birth still continue in many instances to be dedicated to a religious life. "Poverty," declared the eminent Dr. Doyle, "is the cradle in which Christianity was nursed, and riches have ever been its bane." The vow of poverty was imposed in the early ages of the Church upon some ecclesiastical orders; the vow of celibacy upon all. These ordinations were conceived wise and salutary, that the temporal should not interfere with the eternal interests of the priesthood; that the piety of the Christian pastor might be devoted exclusively to the propagation of that faith, whose author and whose apostles were exalted by their humility!

The Catholic priesthood of the early part of the last century, felt that they had been themselves the architects of Protestant ascendancy; that they had created the tenure of coercion, by which alone the country could be held, secure against intestine disturbance and external intrigue. With that priesthood, their piety increased with their poverty; seclusion from the public eye rendered their devotion to their Maker and their flocks the more sincere: religion became the more pure—the more its ministers were oppressed. How true had been the lament of the venerable but ill-fated Archbishop Oliver Plunket: "When we had wooden chalices, we had golden priests: when we got golden chalices, we found wooden priests!"

In 1749, Bishop Berkeley published an address to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland;\* a document long forgotten, the revival of which, after more than a century, must lead to serious and sad reflections. "The house of the Irish peasant," he observed, "is the cave of poverty. Within, you see a pot and a little straw; without, a heap

\* "A word to the Wise."—Berkeley's Works.

of children tumbling on the dunghill. In every road, the ragged emblems of poverty are displayed. You meet caravans of poor ; whole families without clothes to cover them, or bread to feed them. The negroes in our plantations have a saying, ‘ If negro was not negro, Irishman would be negro.’ We take our notions from what we see : mine are a faithful transcript from originals about me.”

\* \* “ If you have any compassion for your people, *remind them how many perished in a late memorable distress*, through want of prudent care against a hard season, observable not only in all other men, but even in irrational animals.” \* \* “ What a reproach it is, that a nation that makes so great pretensions to antiquity, and is said to have flourished many years ago in arts and learning, should in *these, our* days, turn out a lazy, destitute, and degenerate race.” \* \* “ The poverty, nakedness, and famine, which idleness entaileth, do make men so wretched, that they may well think it better to die than to live such lives. Hence a courage for all villanous undertakings, which bringeth men to shameful death !” In the Dublin papers of the 18th of November 1749, appeared a resolution of the Roman Catholic clergy, “ returning their sincere thanks to the worthy author, assuring him that they are determined to comply with every particular recommended in his address, to the utmost of their power.” They add that, “ in every page it contains a proof of the author’s extensive charity ; his views are only towards the public good ; the means he prescribeth are easily complied with, and his manner of treating persons in their circumstances so very singular, that they plainly show the good man, the polite gentleman, and the true patriot.” Such was the language befitting Christian priests—such the demeanour of the



Roman Catholic clergy of that day—towards a Protestant bishop! If a bishop of the establishment were now to tender to that clergy—advice, combining the mildness of the Christian—the wisdom of the philosopher—the benevolence of the philanthropist—with what sneers would it be read; with what contumely would it be rebuked; with what insolence would it be repulsed! The contrast is becoming daily more and more striking, between a clergy—gentlemen by birth, or at least by travel and cultivation—whom adversity had subdued into the decorous observances of civilized life, and a clergy whose origin is plebeian—whose education is ignorance—whose demeanour is arrogance—whose approach is tumult—whose persuasion is terror—whose liberty is licentiousness. A clergy who, while they retain celibacy in their lives, must feel that in intelligence, literature, arts, science, civilization, the curse of sterility has fallen upon their church in Ireland.

The humble priest of that day only existed by endurance—his poverty, his position, extenuated his inability to fulfil his pledge. What palliation exists for his proud, pampered, truculent successor of the present, affronting decency by his audacity? Abashed, however, he must be, if he has any shame, at this still faithful portraiture of the destitute, degraded, demoralized wretches around him. In the advance of general improvement, man, the object of *his* peculiar culture, alone remains unreclaimed. The same dwellings exciting the same disgust; the roads crowded with the same way-worn, hungry wretchedness; the same improvidence begetting the same indigence; the same restlessness encouraging the same idleness; the same creed inculcating the same recklessness of life; famine met by the same absence of prudent precaution; distress



terminating in the same appalling mortality. Our nature would not debase man, if man did not debase our nature. A change there has been in the peasantry—from the rude essays of that day, to a better-organized proficiency in the mystery of murder. The passions of the priests operate upon the passions of the people. Altar denunciations are the pious exhortations of the one, the bullets of the secret assassin the expiatory offerings of the other! With a clergy the apologists, instead of the detectors of guilt, crimes cease to be regarded as sins. Walls and plantations, the evidence of wealth and cultivation in other countries, have only arisen in Ireland—to furnish more covert protection to secret conspiracy. Religion has become more subsidiary to crime—the confessional more assuredly the sanctuary of the assassin,—the shelter of confederacies—which suck into the vortex of guilt—men who, if well guided, would shudder at participation in such enormities. Nature will yet rise indignant against such a system!

The close of the last century was distinguished by important epochs. Amongst them—First, the revolt of the favourite colonies of England, “an event,” in the words of Burke, “which shook the pillars of a commercial empire that circled the globe;” their subsequent elevation into the United States of America, a free and mighty country. Second, the achievement by the volunteers of the legislative independence of Ireland. Both remarkable events—both exempted from priestly interference—and both successful! The first British settlement in America was attempted in 1583; the independence of the British colonies was acknowledged in 1783—two centuries after. The discovery of America was almost coeval with the decline of papal power. A possession never enjoyed by the grasping ambition of

Rome could not be considered as ever lost, or as ever to be regained. In the United States the Catholic priesthood are accordingly quiescent. Where the church has not ventured to grasp at political usurpation, the clergy have not dared to assert that authority. The founders of transatlantic freedom quitted England, when the principles of liberty were high—in the exiles predominant: the young country inherits their attachment with their blood. Proud of her ancestral honours, America embodies the early annals of England with her own. Retaining the freshness of nationality, she has as yet preserved *at least* her independence from European contamination. Her republicanism still inculcates indelible dislike to political tyranny—the twin sister of spiritual despotism. Catholicity in the States has no ancient claims to enforce—no lost supremacy to reclaim. Watched by the zealous eye of dissent, it barely exists;—exciting occasional tumults amongst its ignorant followers in the towns, an object of national distrust, the vigilance of the Federative Government has been as yet efficient for its control. America adopting the example of England, is equally dignified and distant in her relations with the Roman see. So long as she defines and dictates their duties to the priesthood, the priesthood will find attempts against her liberties, as dangerous—as electrical experiments with the lightning!

The year 1782 presents an extraordinary spectacle in the annals of Ireland, upwards of forty thousand men in arms, assembled, equipped, disciplined, commissioned by themselves. “A voice from America,” said Henry Flood in the Irish Parliament, “shouted to liberty; the people caught the sound as it crossed the Atlantic, and they continued it till it reverberated *here* ;” but the volunteers were almost exclusively Protestant. The war with Ame-

rica had withdrawn the army of the King from Ireland, and left her coasts exposed to invasion. If the volunteers owed their existence to the period of national disaster, they met, if necessary, to repel the foreign foe. The gentry composed that army; it was led by the noble, landed, commercial, intellectual aristocracy of the country; they associated for the redress of real, not imaginary wrongs, and on the cessation of those wrongs, they grounded their arms. That national confederation embraced all that was independent in fortune, exalted in rank, elevated by superior acquirements; it did not bow blind obedience to the behests of a demagogue dictator, nor lean for applause and support on rude and uncivilized masses. Above all, it despised and disdained an alliance with priests. "Under its protection," declared Grattan, "her sons were no longer an arbitrary gentry, a ruined commonalty; Protestants oppressing Catholics, Catholics groaning under oppression; Ireland was now a united land." The high, the chivalrous spirit which actuated that body towards the Catholics, in their struggle for the independence of Ireland—may be estimated from the resolutions of the Protestant volunteers of Ulster assembled on the 15th of February 1782. Referring to the Relief Bill of 1778, they declared "as men, as Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland." The republican simplicity of the newly-established government in America, where all power flowed directly from the people, where an established religion did not exist, and where the highest office in the state was open to the ambition of

every citizen, had captivated theoretic minds, and alienated enthusiastic men from their admiration of the more ancient and more aristocratic institutions around them.

The volunteers achieved a revolution of peace. The next European revolution was one of horrors ; the first,—THE French Revolution,—subverting alike the altar and the throne. The demon of that event was the terror and dismay of the world,—every European state was in turn a witness of its atrocities—every one, save England, a victim. “ While every part of the Continent, from Moscow to Lisbon, has been the theatre of bloody and devastating wars, no hostile standard has been seen *there*, save as a trophy.”\* Of revolutionary France, it had been predicted by Burke that, before its final settlement, it should pass through every variety of untried being, in all its transmigrations to be purified by fire and blood. Inscribed with a dedication to liberty and equality, that revolution erected at home an appalling and sanguinary despotism—attempted abroad universal subjugation. To the sanctity, meekness, self-denial, and humility of the clergy cannot, however, be attributed the terrific vengeance with which popular frenzy pursued them. We have the high authority of Montesquieu that, before that revolution, the rights of the church were denied by its priesthood to those—who did not bequeath to it large portions of their properties.† Expelled and outlawed from what had been a Catholic country, shocked at the atrocities of infidel France, that priesthood looked to Ireland, even under Protestant rule, as the sanctuary of their faith. They beheld Great Britain alone sustaining everywhere the cause of order and religion,—British fleets humbling the pride and counter-

\* Macaulay's History, vol. i., p. 280.

† Vol. iii., p. 374.



acting the advance of political licentiousness and impious infidelity, united in an incestuous alliance,—British dragoons furnishing the guards in the dominions of the Pope,—British officers decorated by Pius VI. with medals of gold.\* Mr. Burke was anxious for diplomatic relations with the Papal Court, and in a letter of the 3rd of October 1793,

\* The regiment on whom the duty devolved was the 12th Light Dragoons, now 12th Royal Lancers. In 1793, after the English had occupied Toulon, the 12th Light Dragoons were sent to the Mediterranean. On the abandonment of that naval fortress, part of the regiment was present at the taking of Bastia, in Corsica, which surrendered on the 22nd of May, 1794. Corsica, the birth-place of Napoleon, was, on the 22nd of July, 1794, formally annexed to England; the "London Gazette" of that date declaring "the Roman Catholic the only national religion of Corsica." The remainder of the regiment, after suffering much on service, was landed at Civita Vecchia, near Rome, and served in the Papal States for some time. The officers were formally introduced to the Pope, who, taking one of their helmets in his hand, ejaculated a prayer, "that heaven would enable the cause of truth and religion to triumph over injustice and infidelity!" and placed it on the head of Captain Brown. Previous to their embarkation for England, a letter was addressed by the Pope to the regiment, dated from the Vatican, May 30th 1794, signed by Cardinal de Zelada, the Secretary of State. In it he assures them, that "the marked consideration which the holy father has always entertained, and never will cease to entertain, for the generous and illustrious English nation, induces him not to neglect the opportunity of giving a proof of it by the stay of a British regiment at Civita Vecchia. As his holiness cannot but applaud the regular and praiseworthy conduct of the troops in question, he has determined to evince his entire satisfaction in presenting a gold medal to each of the officers," including General Sir James Stewart, Baronet, and Colonel Erskine. And he concludes by expressing—"the feelings by which his holiness was animated, and the lively desire which he entertains of manifesting on all occasions his unalterable regard, whether it be towards the nation, or towards every individual Englishman!"—Cannon's "Historic Records of the British Army—12th Royal Lancers," p. 19.



addressed to Sir John Cox Hippenley, then at Rome, thus speaks of that pope:—"I confess I would, if the matter rested with me, enter into much more distinct and avowed political connexions with the Court of Rome than hitherto we have held. If we decline them, the bigotry will be on our part, and not on that of his holiness. Much mischief has happened, and much good, I am convinced, been prevented by our unnatural alienation. If the present state of the world has not taught us better things, our error is very much our fault. This good correspondence could not begin more auspiciously than in the person of the present sovereign pontiff, who unites the royal and sacerdotal characters with advantage and lustre to both. He is indeed a prelate whose dignity as a prince takes nothing from his humility as a priest, and whose mild condescension as a Christian bishop, far from impairing, in him exalts the awful and imposing authority of the secular sovereign." That priesthood afterwards saw that pope, a prisoner in his own capital—the Roman states—the holy city itself invaded by the republican French; "an invasion accompanied," in the language of a great British minister, "by outrages and insults towards the pious and venerable pontiff, in spite of the sanctity of his age, and the unsullied purity of his character, which even to a Protestant seem hardly short of the guilt of sacrilege."\* Worse than sacrilege it must have been to that priesthood—to behold their revered head, bending under the weight of eighty winters, carried in captivity to France; on the 27th of August 1799, expiring unnoticed, unhonoured, unattended in the obscure French town of Valence.†

\* Mr. Pitt, his speech on the 3rd of February, 1800.

† While France was persecuting and pillaging, England was forswearing the Pope at home, befriending him abroad. An

That clergy were destined again to witness, even before the pontificate of his successor Pius VII. had commenced, a British commodore clearing the papal dominions of their enemies the French—British marines sentries on the gates of Rome.\* Abandoned, betrayed, assailed by its former

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Irish Catholic priest, the Reverend Arthur O'Leary, a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian, who would have been an ornament to any church, more particularly alluded to hereafter, and to whom a subsequent note is devoted, thus eloquently eulogised and described the fate of Pope Pius VI.—“Emperors, kings, and princes flocked to Rome, to see something greater than Rome itself—a pontiff, uniting in his person the experience of age with the vigour of mind and enterprising genius of youth: the outward charms of the most fascinating figure, with the improvement of the most cultivated mind, and the magnanimity of a temporal prince with all the meekness and piety of an apostle.” . . . “It was that” (French) “philosophy, whose insatiate thirst for blood could not be satisfied with hecatombs of human victims, amongst whom kings, queens, princesses, aged and venerable prelates, priests, and levites were offered on its polluted altars,—until it chained to its triumphal car, and sprinkled for the sacrifice a high-priest and prince, before whose majestic countenance and silver locks a victorious Alexander would have fallen prostrate, as that conqueror did, when he met Jaddeus the high-priest clad in his pontifical robes with the prophecies in his hand at the gates of Jerusalem.” . . . “That pontiff they led to the sacrifice, far from St. Peter's shrine, where he prayed to be permitted to die, and where he wished for the crown of martyrdom. The ‘staff of old age’ is always mentioned with veneration; and when propping the drooping body of a hoary sage, it was ever considered by savage, as well as civilized nations, as the sceptre of reverence. Without regard to the propriety, which nature itself suggests to the uncultivated savage, his enemies deprived Pius VI., bending under the weight of years, of the support of his tremulous steps, and sent his cane as a trophy to the French Directory, in whose hall it is exposed, as the poles on which the sacred ark was carried in procession were put up in the Temple of Dagon, in the unhallowed land of the Philistines.”

\* See Commodore Troubridge's Despatches, dated H. M. S. “Culloden,” off Civita Vecchia —Annual Register, 1799; Appen-

allies, its ancient vassals,—the popedom again befriended by England!

The intrigues and calamities of former reigns, the avowed claims of two pretenders, the existence and Catholic predilections of the regal line of Stuart,\* tended

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dix to Chronicle, p. 131.—See also the treaty of capitulation of the French, dated Civita Vecchia, October 5th, 1799. By the third article, 300 British troops were put in possession of the gate of Cavilligiere and the hospitals at Rome, until the complete evacuation of the holy city by the French.

\* Charles Edward Stuart, styled the Second Pretender, grandson of James II., eldest son of James, the Chevalier St. George, who married Maria Clementina Sobieski, after the failure of his expedition to Scotland in 1745, resided at Rome, where he legitimized his natural daughter by Clementina Walkingshaw, and, by a vain act of visionary sovereignty, created her Duchess of Albany. He died on the 7th of January 1788; and in the funeral ceremonies the *Irish* Franciscan friars were alone admitted to the chamber of death. The body was embalmed, and confined in full dress, with the George and St. Andrew in *pinchbeck*; an inscription was prepared in lead, with *Carolus III. Britannice Rex*, and a wooden crown and sceptre were carved and *gilt*; but, by one of those steps from the sublime to the ridiculous so frequent in the Stuart annals, the former, from deference to the papal Court, was placed *under* the coffin lid, and the latter were carefully hidden in cotton wadding.—Quart. Review, vol. lxxix., p. 163. The titular Duchess was much spoken of for her attachment to Alfieri, the Italian dramatic poet. She did not long survive her father. She died in 1789. Her mother died long after, at an extreme old age, at Fribourgh, in Switzerland, and was called Countess of Alberstroff. Henry Benedict Maria Clemens, the second son of James the first Pretender, was born at Rome on the 26th of March 1725; he was made Bishop of Frascati, and named a cardinal on the 3rd of July 1747. On the death of his brother Charles he had medals struck, bearing his head, with an inscription, "*Henricus Nonus Angliæ Rex*;" on the reverse, "*Dei Gratia, sed non voluntate Hominum.*" In asserting his royal titles, he seems like the Pope who excommunicated Elizabeth, to have forgotten the Island of Saints. He was afterwards generally known as the Cardinal of York, and his signature was Henry Cardinal. The Cardinal had, besides a resi-

to preserve the penal code untouched during the reigns of the early Georges. The first measure of enfranchisement was in 1778, when Catholics were empowered to take long leases, and relieved from various incapacities in their

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dence at Rome, a valuable collection of curiosities and interesting manuscripts at his villa at Frascati, which were plundered by the French, or confiscated by French commissioners for the museums and libraries of Paris. In order to assist Pope Pius VI. in making up the heavy contribution insisted on by Bonaparte in 1796, the Cardinal disposed of the family jewels, and amongst them of a ruby, the largest and most perfect then known, valued at 50,000*l.* sterling. After that he resided privately at his villa, from which he was obliged to fly from the French; and he arrived in Venice in the winter of 1798, aged, infirm, plundered, and destitute. In the Castlereagh Correspondence is a letter from the Cardinal, dated July 5th 1800, from Frascati, to which he had returned, complaining "of the total devastation of all his residences, both at Rome and Frascati," and "of the incredible devastations which those enemies of humanity had committed;" and expressing great gratitude for the pecuniary aid which he had received from the royal bounty of England.—Vol. iii., pp. 385, 386. An annuity of 4000*l.* a-year, payable half-yearly out of the privy purse, had been settled on him for life; and the intimation of it was conveyed with great delicacy in a letter from Lord Minto, then British Plenipotentiary in the Mediterranean, through Sir John Cox Hoppesley, who was resident at Rome. The Cardinal, in a letter to Sir John, dated Venice, 7th May 1800, acknowledges "His most gracious Majesty's noble and spontaneous generosity;" and enclosed one from Pope Pius VII., previously Cardinal Chearamonte, who had then just succeeded Pius VI., and being a relative, had adopted the same name, assuring him—"We will not suffer that England should find, seated in the pontifical chair of Rome, another pontiff differing from him, who so invariably acknowledged the kindness and friendship that England entertained for him." The family had an honorary claim on England: by the settlement on the marriage of James II. with Mary Beatrice of Este, a jointure of 50,000*l.* had been provided for her, and she survived till 1718, when large arrears were unpaid, but of course irrecoverable. The Civil List supplied the exigencies of the last of the Stuarts. The Cardinal died upwards



persons and properties. The next was in 1781, enabling them to hold estates ; the next in 1792 and 1793, removing many disabilities, placed them at least on a level with Protestant Dissenters. A measure of general parliamentary reform had been introduced into the Irish Parliament in 1793, by Mr. George Ponsonby, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, so extensive as almost to amount to universal suffrage, but it was lost by the indifference of all classes.\* “ A mistress,” said Henry Flood, “ which the people of Ireland sought for with a lover’s appetite, was, when brought to their embraces, repudiated with a lover’s inconstancy.” It has been observed that the Act which passed in 1793, in elevating the peasant class by conferring on them the elective franchise, in depressing the higher classes of the Catholics by continuing their exclusion from the Senate and the Bench, began at the wrong end.† It is probable that reversed legislation would have tended to the advantage by the improvement

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of 82 years of age, in 1807 ; and with him expired the Act for the Attainder of the Blood. The Cardinal had considerable estates in Mexico, which were confiscated in the revolutions of the American dominions of Spain.—Gentleman’s Magazine, vol. lxxiv., pp. 31, 34, 36 ; vol. lxxvii., p. 883. He bequeathed to George IV. the garter which his great-grandfather, Charles I., had worn on his execution, which was interwoven with 400 diamonds.—Quarterly Review, vol. lxxviii., p. 420. Lord Mahon remarks—“ The funeral rites of Charles Edward were performed by his brother, the Cardinal, at Frascati. In the vault of that church lie mouldering the remains of what was once a brave and gallant heart ; and beneath St. Peter’s dome, a stately monument, from the chisel of Canova, has since been raised to the memory of James III., Charles III., and Henry IX., *kings of England*, names which an Englishman can hardly read without a smile and a sigh.” That monument was erected at the expense of England.

\* Plowden’s Ireland.

† Evidence of the late A. R. Blake.



of both,—to the more secure consolidation of imperial power.

The debate in the Irish Parliament on that measure, furnishes a singular instance of accurate prediction, as to the use and abuse of the elective franchise in Ireland. Theobald Wolfe Tone had early declared “Sir Lawrence Parsons,” afterwards Lord Rosse, “to be almost the only honest man in the Irish House of Commons.” On the measure of conferring the franchise on the Catholics in 1793, he reasoned in that parliament thus—“Religion is a subject on which prejudice overrules reason. The number of the Catholics exceeds that of the Protestants, consequently if the Catholics have an equal right of franchise, they must become the majority of voters at almost every popular election. Though the inferior Catholics might vote with their landlords, they might also vote against them—interest might lead them one way—bigotry another. It is the expiring embers of civil discords which inflame the sects against each other—not oppression; and although abolition may cool, it will not quench them. You give the franchise to men in great poverty, in great ignorance, bigoted to their sect and their altars, repelled by ancient prejudices from you—at least four times your number. By the elective franchise, they will almost in every county, in the three provinces out of the four, be the majority of the electors, controlling you, overwhelming you, resisting and irresistible. Suppose the inferior Catholics, on obtaining the franchise, should meet in the parishes to determine on the exercise of it—that they should nominate in their chapels their representatives to the parliament, as they lately did their delegates to the Convention—what would there be to prevent them? The power of the landlords might do

much, but the power of religion might do much more. How much might these people be wrought on by their priests at their altars, working on their superstition and their ignorance? How easily might they be persuaded, that their temporal as well as their eternal felicity depended upon their uniting together in the exercise of that franchise? They will be told if you unite your suffrages,—your ancient religion, which has been prostrated and humiliated and reviled, may once more rear its head, and appear in all its pristine magnificence; and after the wrongs of centuries, you may do an act of great justice to your priests, your altars, and your God, which shall shower down wealth and power upon you in this world, and eternal glory in the next.”\* Have we not recently seen these predictions uttered sixty years since by prophetic wisdom, fully realized? While during that period in the transitions of property, the farm to which the franchise was incident may have changed twenty owners, the heritage of that ignorance, of that bigotry, “racy of the soil,” has descended unimpaired. Religious animosities doubly embittered, religious detestations daily becoming more envenomed, more rudely than ever lacerate the ligaments which ought to bind the Catholic peasant to his Protestant protector, whose property confers upon him the franchise which he exercises. A severance rude and unsocial, fatal alike to the interests of both—blighting the kindlier relations of the one, blasting the natural allegiance of the other. A seemingly deference to rank, station, property, education, and authority, is essential to the well-being of every well-regulated society; in the respective positions of landlord and tenant, a tendency to acquiesce in the wishes and advice of relative superiority adjusts the happi-

\* Irish Parliamentary Debates, February 18th, 1793.

ness of both. Example is the light which ought to guide the social dependent ;—when religious influence becomes dominant and despotic, for purposes neither moral nor spiritual, the necessary result is angry and painful reaction, too often stimulated by exasperation and revenge. The dissensions of rival creeds have been in Ireland the constant instruments of national degradation ;—the transfer of authority from the proprietors to the priests, will only tend to perpetuate that degradation :—“ Without the aid of its Protestant rank, its intellect, and its property,” declared Curran, “ Ireland can do no more for herself now, than she has done for centuries heretofore, when she lay a helpless hulk upon the water.”\*

The enfranchisement of the Catholic laity was immediately followed by the establishment in 1795 of the Ecclesiastical College of Maynooth, a measure recommended by the wisdom of Edmund Burke, in the hope of improving the clergy. His prophetic spirit, which had declared that the Catholic priesthood should be educated *by the state for the state*, could scarcely have foreseen or calculated the effects of the system he proposed. Mr O’Connell, at the same time—the creator of priestly influence and its creature—seemed to feel the degrading inferiority of the Irish home-made priests. Contrasting the clergy of the two religions, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1825, he remarked, “ The Protestant clergy are of a higher class, and are more educated for society ; their education is therefore what one would call of a superior character.”† . . . “ The Irish priesthood” of his early day, observed the celebrated Catholic leader, Mr. Sheil, “ are divided into two

\* Speech at Newry, October 17th, 1812.

† Parliamentary Reports, vol. viii., p. 143.

classes, those who have graduated in the continental nurseries, and those to whom the policy of later times has given a domestic education at Maynooth—the latter by no means an improvement. Gloomy and intolerant, they have all the pride without the learning of the cloister, the pedantry of the schools contracts their understandings; the discipline of the church formalizes their manners. The old school was equally zealous—much less repulsive. A foreign education sweetened their brogue, softened their manners, and gave them an air of the world unimagined by their successors.” More than a quarter of a century has passed over us since this outline was touched, but it presents far too flattering a character of the country priest as he now appears; self-excommunicated from cultivated life, the Irish priest must become again a gentleman, as his predecessor often was,—to be again welcome in the society of gentlemen. We are indebted to the same hand at a different period, for the portraiture of the clergy, not as they are, but as they ought to be. “The indefatigable instructors of the peasantry, their counsellors in affliction, their resource in calamity, their preceptors and their models in religion, their visitors in sickness, their companions at the bed of death.” We, however, see them “equally insolent to the humble, and sycophantic to the great—flatterers when admitted to the great man’s table, and extortioners in the poor man’s hovel—slaves in politics and tyrants in demeanor.”\*

The clergy of the earlier period, subdued by the traditions of adversity, unseduced by political ambition from their sacred duties, were not separated from society by any exasperating demarcations. Those of the present

\* Speech at Penenden Heath in 1827.



day by their conduct and demeanor disassociate themselves from civilization, and affiliating in mischievous organization with the plebeian baseness from which they sprung,—create a fraternity of ignorance, a confederacy fanatical and exclusive. Rude and turbulent vulgarity forbids the refining of their minds and manners, by the blandishments of domestic intercourse—by the interchange of polished civilities with the higher classes of a different creed. While events have liberalized the minds and feelings of the Protestant gentry—the Catholic priesthood have become proportionably morose, uncourteous, and unsocial. The costume and habit they have recently assumed constitute more distinctive badges of sectarian separation, while the indelible brand that marks them for exclusion, has been inflicted on their own foreheads, from consciousness of inferiority—by themselves. Produced by imperfect civilization without, grafted upon imperfect education within the walls of Maynooth,—such are the state-reared foundlings of an adverse creed. The boy who has been transferred from the care of cows and cornfields to Maynooth has seen but little, and knows less, of the monuments and progress of civilization in other countries. The mind not originally of sterling ore, which is compressed within the narrow circle of dogmatic theology, is not sufficiently elastic in its spring, to expand beyond its early or hereditary habits. The student buried for a few months within the cloisters of Maynooth is dug out a priest, and returns to his native fields to say prayers, and preach politics to those who are about as enlightened as himself. —There, the little information he possesses is made, by the insolent assumption of superiority, an engine still more to debase the people. Their ignorance teaches them only this, to receive and regard the poison that falls from the lips of



the priest as oracular. The indignation of the Christian world is daily roused at the atrocity of that system, which still sanctions the infliction of stripes on those upon whom, an African or American sun has burnt the complexion of the negro slave : the Maynooth priest captivated with the example, and insisting on the same authority as the slave-driver, deems it not degrading to his fellow-Christians in their native land—not derogatory to that faith which elevates the mind to heaven—not desecrating to the temple where he teaches that the divinity is enshrined—publicly, and within the precincts of his chapel, to use the horse-whip on their backs. In the retirement of his parish, the only book of the priest is often his breviary. Isolated by the defects of his breeding from associations that could instruct or improve, he makes politics his religion,—religion his politics,—and cultivates the study of turbulent agitation. The tardy cession of emancipation taught those, whom high sense of honour did not render scrupulous—whom nature did not endow with the capacity to appreciate justice—whom no kindness could render grateful—to delude the people, by representing that they had extorted that—from fear, which had perhaps been too long denied by policy. From the exercise of the simple right of petitioning, as from a seminal principle of mischief, sprung amongst the priesthood—that many-headed monster—Agitation, which in its varied transmigrations of being—associate, precursor, repealer, rebel, religionist, communist, leveller—has been so disastrous to Ireland—“affrighting the isle from its propriety.” With timely concession it might have fallen stillborn,—coercive vigour might have strangled it at its birth, and saved the country from the shame of its many abortions. In states,

where the minds of men are free, as America and England, national excitement is generally purely political. The religion of Scotland differs from that of England, not to produce disunion nor discord; in both—public opinion operates as a stimulant and a check. In Ireland there is no public—one portion of the community is decided in political as well as religious dissent, the other submits its judgment to priestly dictation, and blindly obeys its injunctions. We seek in vain for that moral control, which, while it elevates to high enterprise, subdues to the level of rational practicability, and subsides into popular content. In Ireland, under the dangerous and despotic influences of home-bred priests, political excitement cannot exist without religious fanaticism, pressing upon the two most sensitive springs of human action—ignorant prejudice and bigoted infatuation. An uneducated clergy raised into unnatural importance, and encouraged to become the allies of insubordination, is the greatest evil which the struggles of intolerance, or the contests of rival factions have bequeathed to Ireland. Dark and gloomy passions are the certain habitants of minds uncultivated—untutored by early associations—secluded from society—unstored with the treasures of ancient or modern lore. Erudition, science, taste are unsuited to the educational training—philosophic reasoning too cold for the intelligence of the Irish home-bred priests. The compositions to suit their tastes must kindle bad passions, must scandalize public men, profane public principles, must circulate exasperation, must pervert truth,—instead of combining learning, logic, wit, argument, there must be a total absence of all.

With minds thus predisposed for the impression of

every absurdity, of every wickedness,—they exclusively imbibe their political notions and knowledge of passing events, from the interested ravings of a pestilent press, which suits in its adaptations, in the disgusting extravagance of its doctrines, in its detestation of the exalted and ennobling principles of liberty, the intellectual capacities, the high cultivation, the pure nationality of the Academicians of Maynooth! With them turbulence, intimidation, terror, tyranny are the favourite ethics of priestly philosophy. The censorship of the press in despotic countries is in the hands of ecclesiastics, principally Dominicans, who, seeking to subjugate the mind, preclude anything from transpiring which could instruct or enlighten the people. In Ireland, the freedom of the press in the hands of bad men pandering, for their own profit, to base passions—for baser purposes—is made equally instrumental to the same perversion of human intellect, realizing the quaint irony of Marvel! “Oh, Printing, how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind! Lead, when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into letters.” Thus instructed, thus enlightened, the Catholic priesthood are insolently striving to assume a power never attempted, never endured before,—to revive the dissensions of caste and creed which emancipation had removed; to divide society into two distinct circles, that they becoming the mystic masters of one—may by tyrannical intolerance exclude the mixed associations of conviviality, mind, intelligence, education, improvement, from its precincts. While in England, the blood of the Norman has been fully transfused into the veins of the Saxon, and glows commingled equally in the contentment of a national complexion;—in Ireland the priests incessantly labour to render the restless distinctions of race

eternal.\* The effects to be anticipated on the various relations and gradations of life from the success of their mastery, may be estimated from the hatred of the Jews against Christ, being revived in the hatred of the Maynooth priests against England.

Ireland had been from its conquest to the reign of Anne, the constant scene of intermittent rebellion. From the enactment of the penal code in that reign to its relaxation, although two formidable outbreaks had occurred in Great Britain, Ireland had remained in tranquillity and peace. This was attributed to her priesthood, atoning by their pious and peaceful examples, for the national calamities of which they had been the causes, if not the authors. Republican France had, in 1796, under the ambitious administration of the Directory, at the instance of Theo-

\* James I., by the advice of Bacon, contemplated a national union of the two islands. By the recommendation of Sir John Davis, he attempted an union of the races in Ireland. Davis tells us that his Majesty "made mixed plantations of British and Irish that they might grow up together in one nation, only the Irish were in some places transplanted from the woods and mountains into the plains and open countries, that being removed like wild fruit-trees, they might grow the milder, and bear the better and sweeter fruit. And this truly is the master-piece and most excellent part of the work of reformation." "Briefly, the clock of the civil Government is now well set, and all the wheels thereof do move in order, the strings of the Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, are all in tune (for I omit to speak of the State Ecclesiastical), and made a good harmony in this commonweal—so that we may well conceive a hope that Ireland, which heretofore might properly be called the land of IRE, because the irascible power was predominant there for the space of 400 years together, will henceforth prove a land of peace and concord." Vain was the hope thus expressed, and vain will similar anticipations ever prove, while the State endures turbulent and intemperate ecclesiastics marring the best intentions of man, and the beneficent designs of Providence.



bald Wolfe Tone, a Catholic, an envoy from Ireland, assembled a formidable naval and military armament for the invasion of the island, and committed the chief command to Hoche, a name distinguished in historic annals, for his clement but effective suppression of the civil war in La Vendée. The fleet reached Bantry Bay ; but the Pope had withheld his approval ; the priests, folding their arms, merely looked on ; the natives hung back ; the very elements proved sufficient to frustrate and disperse the invaders.

The prime minister of England, Mr. Pitt, declared that he had consented to the Relief Bill of 1793, “ rather than risk a rebellion in Ireland.” The concessions so made were followed by disaffection—in the short space of five years by a bloody rebellion. “ In framing those concessions, Mr. Grattan was aided by the Lords Mountjoy and O’Neil, the earliest friends of the Catholics, the first victims of that rebellion.”\* Emmet and the leaders availed themselves of the pretexts of religion and fanaticism, as firebrands to fling amongst the people.† They

\* Sketch of the Past and Present State of Ireland.

† “ The rebellion,” observed Lord Castlereagh in a letter of the 12th of July 1798 to Mr Wickham, “ was originally a Jacobin conspiracy throughout the Kingdom, pursuing its objects chiefly with Popish instruments, the heated bigotry of that sect being better suited for the republican leaders than the cold reasoning disaffection of the northern Presbyterians.”—Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. i. p. 219. While Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation were the constant watchwords on the lips of the Protestants, Theobald Wolfe Tone, the envoy of the Catholics in the two Memorials presented by him in Paris to the French Directory, disclosed the designs of the rebel portion of that body. The first measure proposed by Tone was a proclamation announcing their alliance with the French Republic, to be followed by another, confiscating every shilling of English property in Ireland of every species moveable or fixed, and appropriating it to the national service ; and by another proclamation, recalling all Irishmen from the dominions and service of Great Britain



indignantly disclaimed the establishment of Catholicity as a foundation for freedom.\* If the clergy secretly excited

under pain of being treated as emigrants: that is, outlawed.—Memoirs of Tone by his Son, Appendix, vol. ii. The Government of President Adams was extremely unwilling to afford an asylum to the disaffected Irish in the United States. In the same volume of Castlereagh Correspondence is a letter from Mr Rufus King, then American minister at the Court of St. James, to the Duke of Portland, dated London the 17th of October 1798, protesting against the British Government sending the Irish state prisoners to them. In it he remarks, "*I must repeat my earnest hope, that these delinquents may not be permitted to proceed to the United States.*"—vol. i., p. 395. This may perhaps have arisen from jealousy on the part of Republican America towards Republican France, which, with its characteristic spirit of domination, fancied that the transatlantic union, then comparatively in its infancy, had been called into existence merely to be her handmaid; a feeling shortly after resented by a declaration of open hostility. While England generously shelters the fugitive malcontents of every country, the reluctance of the United States to receive such visitors from Ireland, although Thomas Addis Emmet and others afterwards became excellent citizens, may be an useful warning to future traitors, should any such arise. Arthur O'Connor, one of the most aristocratic of the revolutionary leaders, afterwards married, in France, the only child of the celebrated but ill-fated Condorcet. She survives her husband. By her he acquired considerable property in the neighbourhood of Orleans, and he became a general officer in the army of France. He never was engaged on service. He had disapproved of the Government of Napoleon, who it is believed felt a mistrust of the Irish, and his religion being Protestant, might perhaps have been in his way. During the administration of Lord Melbourne, he was allowed to return to Ireland, in order to dispose of an estate in that country. While there, he repeatedly declared that the wildest hopes of the united Irishmen never went so far on their favourite subjects, emancipation and reform, as the measures of the Duke of Wellington and Earl Grey. He observed, however, that the public spirit and intellect of the country appeared to him to have retrograded. This he attributed to the real cause, at which he expressed great surprise—the increased and increasing political influence of the priests.

\* Their evidence before the Select Committee.

the populace, it was as usual only to betray them by their abandonment. Some, but few infatuated priests did raise the banner of the cross to lead their followers to massacre.\* With the Catholic rabble—again a religious insurrection—to be again subdued ; cruel atrocities again perpetrated to be again followed by frightful severities, intense sufferings. “ War on every side ; in Ulster of politics, elsewhere of bigotry ; the Dissenter fought, the Papist massacred, the loyalist cut down both. The objects are interesting to the enlightened—that of the Dissenters a republic—of the Catholics, Catholic ascendancy—of both, connexion with France, separation from England. Its results, too, are important, union with England, separation from France ; and both it would seem eternal.” † The contagion of French principles had spread ; a French party had formed in Ireland, and that party again solicited assistance from France. We learn from the autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone—an enthusiast in his enmity to England—who returned after the failure of the Bantry Bay expedition, and again appeared in Paris as the envoy of the disaffected—that he encountered great difficulty in stimulating the hostility of the Directory to repeat an enterprise, which had proved so disastrous to the fleets and fortunes of France. A second squadron, consisting of one line-of-battle ship and eight frigates, under the command of Bompard, in 1798, left the French ports with the impious design of the invasion of Ireland ; but the ships which were spared by the vengeance of heaven soon furnished in the British harbours

\* According to Mr. Plowden, out of 2,000 Catholic clergy in Ireland at the time of the rebellion, only nine priests were directly implicated in it.—History of Ireland.

† Sketch of the Past and Present State of Ireland.

fresh trophies to the victorious arms of England:—the flagship and six of the frigates were taken. The “Hoché,” of eighty guns, the ship in which Tone, then an officer in the service of France, returned to Ireland, was captured off the northern coast of the island, and was afterwards commissioned, and known in our navy by the name of “The Donegal.” In the “Donegal,” Sir Arthur Wellesley, whom success elevated through every gradation of the peerage to the dukedom of Wellington, sailed from Ireland in 1808; from the “Donegal” he landed in Portugal to fight and win the battles of Roliça and Vimeira, his first contests with the French, his first victories in the Peninsula. The coincidence seems strange, instructive, indicative of a presiding Providence; that while “the sharp antidote against disgrace,” barely rescued the captive Tone from the ignominy of the traitor’s end;\*—the very ship fitted out at his instance, and destined by France

\* In a letter from Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary for Ireland, to Mr. Wickham, dated Dublin Castle, November 16th, 1798, he thus explains the transaction:—“You will observe by the papers, that T. W. Tone, having been sentenced by a court-martial to suffer death, on the morning of his execution cut his throat,<sup>a</sup> so as to render his recovery impossible. On the same day Mr. Curran moved to have him brought up by a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was, of course, granted. The return made to the Court was, that he could not be moved from his place of confinement with safety to his life;—in this situation the matter rests. The opinion of the Crown lawyers has been taken, and they have advised, in case he is brought up before the King’s Bench, and that it is purposed, he being in custody of the Court, that he shall be disposed of under the municipal law, to inquire into his treatment, rather than bring the question of martial authority to a solemn decision, which would occasion delay, embarrass the Court, and, perhaps, expose the State to have its summary interference for its own prosecutions deferred, in a

<sup>a</sup> This seems purely Irish, for, according to the noble Secretary, Tone must have cut his throat after he was executed.

for the invasion of Ireland, should have borne from Ireland—to commence his career, an unbroken chain of triumphs—the future victor of imperial France!

manner injurious to the public safety.”<sup>b</sup> Tone had been born in Dublin, and educated at Trinity College for the bar. He appeared before the Court-martial in the French uniform of a “*Chef de Brigade*,” a Colonel. He said he had not taken any military oath; so as to render him amenable to an English military tribunal; but declared, “that he had served in the army destined for the invasion of England, when it was commanded by Bonaparte, by Dessaix, and by Castlemaine, who was also a native of Ireland.”<sup>c</sup> The return to the writ would have raised two questions; first, that the rebellion being then suppressed, and no war in the country, martial law, which was authorized by the statute only while the rebels were in arms in the field, was then at an end; secondly, that although born a British subject, still holding a commission from the government *de facto* of France, Tone was not amenable to British military law. Mr. Curran, in moving for the writ, said, “I do not pretend, that Mr. Tone is not guilty of the charges of which he was accused.” . . . “I stand upon the sacred and immutable principle of the constitution, that martial law and civil law are incompatible, and that the former must cease with the existence of the latter.”<sup>d</sup> His death by his own hand on the 19th of November seems to have relieved the Government from serious embarrassment. In the same collection is a letter from General Sir John Moore, who had been a member of the Court-martial, and who afterwards fell in the arms of victory at Corûna, referring to the application for the writ, on which he remarks:—“This is so far fortunate, as it is to stop for the future all trials by Courts-martial for civil offences; and things are to revert to their former and usual channel.”<sup>e</sup> Sir Walter Scott, in Appendix No. 6 to his *Life of Napoleon*, has extracted from the *Memoirs of Tone*, by his son, an interesting account of an interview which his widow had with the Emperor. He allowed the widow a pension, and he had the son admitted to and educated in the cavalry school of St. Cyr.

<sup>b</sup> Despatches of Viscount Castlereagh, by his brother, the Marquis of Londonderry, vol. ii., p. .

<sup>c</sup> *Memoirs of Tone*, by his Son, vol. ii., p. 259.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 369.

<sup>e</sup> Castlereagh Despatches.



The Catholic nobility, prelacy, and gentry attested their loyalty by their devotion to British connexion; of the four members of the Irish Directory only one was a Catholic. Victims of the harsh legislation of those whom time at least had naturalized as their own countrymen, they looked forward with hope, even to the stepdame Austerity of Protestant England. To protect them from themselves, the Irish tendered the independence of their country as the price of their individual freedom, and purchased a closer connexion with England, by the surrender of the birthright of the people. To her position Ireland owed the calamity of conquest, to her weakness her dependence; to both,—her incorporation in the British commonwealth. That incorporation, in which the hands of the Catholics were alone unpolluted amidst the general corruption, was sealed in the measure of the Union, closing the last, opening the present century,—“that key-stone which binds together the noble and well-constructed arch of our empire.”



## CHAPTER V.

DURING the rebellion in Ireland Pius VI. was still Pope, the example, the oracle of the Catholic hierarchy ; that hierarchy, under due subordination, was mainly instrumental in the suppression of that rebellion. Edward Dillon, the Catholic Bishop of Kilnefora, and afterwards Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, published an address to the Catholic laity on the 6th of April 1798, vividly pointing out to them what they had to expect from such visitors as the French. "I will not hesitate to declare, that the wrath of heaven could scarcely visit us with a more dreadful scourge. Witness the atrocities which have marked their steps in every country, in which they have intruded themselves. Treasures and valuable effects carried off under the name of contributions ; the smallest opposition to the will of those apostles of liberty, attended with the most horrid devastations ; churches pillaged and profaned—our holy religion proscribed ; even lately a respectable nation\* given up to carnage and slaughter, for having attempted to defend the constitution and laws under which they and their ancestors lived for ages, a brave, frugal, and happy people. The supreme pastor of our church not only reviled and calumniated in the most impudent manner, but also stripped of that property, which enabled him to display a generosity and benevolence worthy of his high station,

\* Switzerland.

and to propagate the gospel of Christ amongst the remotest nations of the globe. Such are a part of the blessings, which under the specious name of liberty, have been bestowed on many neighbouring countries, by the rulers of the French people; ‘Ill-fated people,’ destined to wade through torrents of blood in quest of that liberty which hath hitherto escaped their pursuit—more restless than the waves of the ocean which beat against their shores, have they plunged from revolution to revolution, the sport of every prevailing faction, and are at length compelled to bend under the iron rod of tyrants, more despotic than any of the kings who swayed the sceptre of their nation.”\* The bishops assembled at Maynooth on the 11th of May 1798, published resolutions, in which they declared—“After considering with grief the unhappy system of political delirium, which after having marked its progress through some of the most cultivated parts of Christendom, by the destruction of order, morality and religion, appears to be making such strides as menace ruin to everything we should venerate and esteem as Christians and as men, we think it expedient to order the most vigilant control over the conduct of every individual, admitted in any manner to a participation of the benefits of the College.” They then “empowered the president to punish by expulsion such person or persons, as may by their actions or discourse abet or support any doctrines, tending to subvert a due regard to the established authorities; and the students are admonished that on those topics, and in these critical times, *a conduct not only free from crime, but even from suspicion, ought to be expected from their gratitude, their attested allegiance, and sacred professional destination.*”† It is

\* Castlereagh Despatches, vol. i., pp. 174, 175.

† Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 1845, vol. lxxx., p. 730.

much to be apprehended that these resolutions inculcating loyalty and grateful recollections, have been banished from the archives of Maynooth, as the sentiments they inculcated have been forgotten there. The admonitions of the bishops were requisite and well timed, for out of seven hundred students at Trinity College, only twenty-seven were expelled for treasonable principles, and all of those but four were Catholics: out of sixty or seventy students at Maynooth, thirty-six were found to be implicated.\*

The severities of the penal code and its terrors had produced a prelacy and a clergy, who in the simplicity of their manners, the sincerity of their faith, the purity of their lives, almost typified the benignity of the religion they professed. All the elders of the Catholic clergy at the close of the last century, had been educated at foreign universities. Travel and superior cultivation made them reserved, and rather detached them from the people; trained in the submissive doctrines of the continental schools, they were attached to authority; primitive in their manners, stainless in their morals, a purer body of men never laboured in a Christian mission—timid from their position, devoted to their flocks—instead of exciting, they allayed turbulence, they assuaged sedition. The eminent Grattan thus spoke in Parliament of Arthur O’Leary, one of the body:—“A man of learning, a philosopher, a Franciscan, did the most eminent service to his country in the hour of her greatest need. Poor in everything but genius and philosophy, he had no property at stake, no family to fear for, but descending from the contemplation of wisdom, and abandoning the ornaments of fancy, he humanely undertook the task of conveying duty and instruction to the lowest classes of the people.

\* Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, 1845, vol. lxxx., p. 537.

If I did not know him to be a Christian clergyman, I should suppose him by his works to be a philosopher of the Augustan age.\* Where is such a character to be found now amongst the Irish priesthood? Speaking of his own class in his own times, "The Catholic clergy," said O'Leary, "have birth and honour, which neither revolutions nor penal laws can affect."† This was the clergy that

\* Grattan's Life and Speeches, by his Son.

† Arthur O'Leary, better known as Father O'Leary, was born in the west of the county of Cork in 1729, and educated at St. Malos in France. Mr. Moore, in his Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, tells us, "that the able Catholic divine, O'Leary, on entering the doors of the Military Congress, was received with the full salute of rested arms by the volunteers," who were almost all Protestants, vol. i., p. 191. We are assured by the son of Mr. Grattan, in his Memoirs of his Father, that O'Leary refused the most urgent offers of a pension for his eminent services from Mr. Pitt, when at the head of the Government of England. He was remarkable as well for his wit as for his writings, and mixed in high society. "Father O'Leary," said Mr. Curran to him, "if you had the keys of heaven, would you not let *me in*?" "It would be better for you," replied the friar, "that I had the keys of the other place, for then I could let you *out*." He had been engaged in a controversy with Dr. Woodward Bishop of Cloyne, on the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, which made great noise at the time, and in which the wit of the friar was at least apparent—"You cannot," said he to the bishop, "hate a Catholic for his speculative creed. His belief in the real presence affects you no more, than if he believed Berenice's tresses were changed into a comet. Nor are we much concerned whether, in that immensity beyond the grave, there may be an intermediate space between the two extremes of complete happiness and complete misery—a place where the soul atones for venial lapses, and pays off a part of the debts it has contracted *here*. However clamorous a mitred divine may be about a Popish purgatory, *he may go further and fare worse*. Good sense and the general good of society are restoring to unhappy mortals *the unalienable charter which school divinity had usurped—the choice of the religion they thought best—and the privilege of being accountable to God alone for their speculative tenets*. We look upon any person who would preach or



survived both—this was the clergy we present in strong contrast with that priesthood, who have pretensions neither to birth nor honour.

The First Consul had reconquered Italy, and laid Austria prostrate at the feet of France—that clergy then beheld the succeeding Pope Pius VII., his spiritual lustre dimmed—humbled beneath indignities, forced from Rome to Paris—a separation unheard of for ten centuries, to minister at the Imperial coronation of a military adventurer—a ceremony in which the pontiff was a cipher. Napoleon grasped the crown with his own hands, and afterwards seized the sword as *his* sceptre. They witnessed

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*practise contrary doctrine as an agitator indeed; and an agitating bishop is as obnoxious a character to us as an agitating priest or friar can be.*" O'Leary's Defence, p. 69. It would be difficult to find such sentiments entertained by a Maynooth priest now, and equally difficult to find an English Protestant author publishing a panegyric on one of that body, as Mr. Pratt did, who introduced O'Leary under the name of Father Arthur into his novel of "Family Secrets." "Such was the blameless priest who is known to have long considered himself as an advocate pleading for the Protestant in France—for the Jew in Lisbon—for the Catholic in Ireland; the patriot whose loyalty was sound—the philanthropist who, clothing humanity in the robes of eloquence, employed his voice and pen in exhorting mankind to lay aside religious distinctions, since it was equal to the Israelite released from bondage whether his temple was built by Solomon or Cyrus, provided he had liberty to pray unmolested and sleep under his own vine." O'Leary died at No. 45 Great Portland-street, London, on the 8th of January 1802, aged 72 years, and was buried in St. Pancras churchyard, where a Protestant peer, the Earl of Moira, afterwards Governor-General of India, to testify his respect for virtue, and his admiration of genius, erected a monument to his memory. England's Life of Arthur O'Leary, London, Longman and Co., 1822. O'Leary was a Franciscan friar, and was almost directly succeeded by Theobald Mathew, a clergyman equally moderate and rational in his political views, who was styled by Mr. Shiel, "The Evangelist of Temperance!"



the papal bull of excommunication fulminated by that Pope on the 11th of June 1809, against Napoleon—scoffed at by the Imperial despot, and the spoils of ancient art, and papal splendour transferred from Italy, with the maledictions of the church to France. They had seen that Pope deposed, his territorial dominions assigned by an edict of the 17th of February 1810 to Imperial Gaul—and the only son of the modern Attila, whom a strange and posthumous destiny now unexpectedly raises from an early and obscure grave into a niche in the gallery of dynastic history, under the name of Napoleon II., created by his father at his birth—King of Rome. They had also beheld the same reverend head of their Church, aged, infirm, but unyielding, dragged again a captive to France, —Fontainebleau converted into the prison of the pontiff.—At Fontainebleau Louis XIV. signed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—At Fontainebleau Pius VII. laid down his tiara. “Where,” said Napoleon to Cardinal Fesch, “does the obstinate old man want me to send him?” “Perhaps,” replied the other, “to heaven.”—At Fontainebleau Napoleon afterwards signed *his* abdication, and abandoned his throne.

Many of that clergy survived to see that crown so grasped, torn from the brow of its usurper—that sceptre broken—that conqueror of many potentates—himself a suppliant for shelter at the feet of England—

“Who would have soared to such a height?  
To set in such a starless night!”

that Pope, restored by her victories, on the 24th of May, 1814, re-entering the Holy City to reascend his humble throne—still the seat of his successor.

After the triumph of Waterloo, at the dictation of England, France restored to Rome the spoils of imperial

pillage. The statues, and works of art, were packed up for restitution by British soldiers at Paris, and, notwithstanding the idle terrors of a “*præmunire*,” a draft for 10,000*l.* on the treasury of England, in favour of the Pope, enabled Pius VII. to meet the expense of transmitting back to his capital the unrivalled treasures of antiquity, for the future adornment of modern Rome. A memorial from all the European artists, then resident there, claimed for the Eternal City the restoration of the works which had adorned Italy. Canova, impassioned for the arts and city of his choice, hastened to Paris, which had been then styled the miniature metropolis of the world, to superintend the removal. The “*Transfiguration of Raphael*,” the “*Last Communion of St. Jerome*,” resumed their places in the halls of the Vatican; and the “*Apollo*” and the “*Laocoon*” again adorned the precincts of St. Peter’s.\*

\* History of Europe, by Sir A. Alison, vol. xiv., p. 94.

The restored government of Louis XVIII., through Prince Talleyrand, strongly protested against the removal, as an infraction of the military convention under which the city of Paris had capitulated, and which provided for the protection of all French property. The Duke of Wellington was inflexible, and peremptory in his directions for the removal of the statues and pictures from the museum of the Louvre. In a despatch to Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated Paris, 23rd of September 1815, the Duke, in his usual clear and decided tone, stated his reasons:—“The feeling of the French people upon this subject must be one of vanity only. It must be a desire to retain the specimens of the arts, not because Paris is the fittest depository for them, as upon that subject artists, connoisseurs, and all who have written upon it, agree that the whole ought to be removed to their ancient seat; but because they were obtained by military concessions, of which they are the trophies. The same feelings which induce the people of France to wish to retain the pictures and statues of other nations, would naturally induce other nations to wish,

Pius VII. had seen much—had suffered more ; and whatever may have been the infirmities and weaknesses of age, his knowledge of events, during a life of lengthened purity, of multiplied sorrows, inspired him with sentiments of attachment to England\*—reliance on her honour,—distrust of France—abhorrence of her faithlessness.

The lives and characters of the two successive pontiffs who had been steeped in the bitter waters of persecution, by their cruel task-masters, the French,—still further illustrate the theory,—that the magic influence of solar light is not more assuredly requisite to call forth the outlines of human beauty on the polished plate, which has been rendered sensitive by the touch of science ; than adversity is essential to develop and display, in the brightest and purest instances of pious excellence, the virtues of sacerdotal perfection. We cannot avoid lamenting with

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now that success is on their side, that the property should be returned to the rightful owners, and the Allied Sovereigns must feel a desire to gratify them. It is, besides, on many accounts desirable, as well for their own happiness as for that of the world, that the people of France, if they do not really feel that Europe is too strong for them, should be made sensible of it ; and that whatever may be the extent, at any time, of their momentary and partial success against any one, or any number of individual powers, the day of retribution must come. Not only, then, would it, in my opinion, be unjust in the Sovereigns to gratify the people of France on this subject at the expense of their own people, but the sacrifice they would make would be impolitic, as it would deprive them of the opportunity of giving the people of France a great moral lesson.”—*Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, by Gurwood*, vol. xii., pp. 645, 646.

\* Splendid portraits of Pius VII. and of his minister, Cardinal Consalvi, adorn the Waterloo Room in the royal palace at Windsor. They were painted by the celebrated Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was sent by the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV., to Rome for the purpose.

Burke, that the pontificates of those prelates should have been allowed to pass away without lifting the dark and impenetrable veil, which still mysteriously enshrouds and conceals the Court of Rome from the political eye of England, favouring the suspicions and exciting the jealousies of both; and that men were not permitted, by close observation, to discern and trace, in the free and intellectual superiority of the one, the blemishes and imperfections of the other. Pius VII., after his liberation and return to Rome, reformed the Inquisition, abolished the use of torture in all its tribunals, remodelled its procedure, made its proceedings public, and decreed that, in all trials for heresy, the accused should be confronted with the accuser in the presence of the judges. In reversing the cruel sentence of death, which the Inquisition had passed against a relapsed Jew, he used the following expressions:—"The Divine law is not of the same nature as that of man, but a law of persuasion and gentleness. Persecution, exile, and imprisonment are suitable only to false prophets, and the apostles of false doctrines."\* The very reforms he introduced proved the atrocities of the system; alas! again attempted to be revived in all their pristine horrors! Pius, if he had the power, would probably have ameliorated and mitigated still more the ferocity of priestly jurisprudence; for we read in Farini, the historian of modern Rome, "that there was in that prince the majesty of all on earth, most exalted and revered, a sanctity of mind corresponding with his name and his office, and the crown of a martyr

\* Notes to Sharon Turner's *History of England*, vol. xii. p. 175.



more bright than mere glory.”\* This author, the apologist of Pius IX. and of papal dominion, admits, “that on the return of Pope Pius VII., the clerical party came back to power with the ideas it had when it fell, and with passions not tempered, but inflamed, by calamity. At Rome, although Cardinal Consalvi tried to check it, the retrograde movement tended towards those methods of administration, of legislation and policy, which reflected the likeness of the middle ages. When the devout pontiff gave up his soul to God, on the 20th of August 1823, the spirit of party was corroding the bonds of society, and the pontifical government had little of love at home, or of respect abroad.”† From the period of the death of Pius, from the subsequent ascendancy of *that* clerical party, may we fear be traced the recantation by the papal see of the principles he inculcated; the revival of that hideous spirit of persecution which, while it crowds the dungeons by its terrific tyranny,—enchains human intellect, debases human nature, and, with its pestilential breath, poisons and paralyzes the energies of man, in the Tuscan and other states of Italy.

We have seen in France republicanism again rise from the ashes of constitutional monarchy, to become the assassin of Roman liberty; a French army bestride the Roman people to subjugate them to papal imbecility—French soldiers degraded into papal police—the shrine and ceremonies of St. Peter’s permitted to be seen only through the glittering steel of French bayonets. Although

\* The Roman State from 1815 to 1850, by Luigi Carlo Farini, translated from the Italian by the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P. John Murray; London, 1851.

† The Roman State, vol. i., p. 5.



vaulting ambition has again made the chair of the Pontiff a stepping-stool to power, those Catholics must study the annals of past events with eyes of illusion, who can hope from the restoration of the dynasty of the French Empire, disinterested attachment to spiritual purity—high-born devotion to religious freedom—chivalrous protection to papal authority. Those who study the philosophy of history may, perhaps, venture to discern, as the mantle of time shall unfold itself, England again reassuming her former attitude—mediating for the liberties of Italy, enforcing that mediation—as the protectress at the same time,—of spiritual papacy, and of Roman freedom.

The early relaxations of the penal code were not effected without repeated supplicatory appeals to the legislature. The first Catholic Committee was formed to direct those appeals in 1756; the first step of the laity towards success was to sever themselves from the clergy.† The clergy, who had studied humility in the school of adversity, were passive spectators; they gave to the cause all that any priesthood ought to give, all that was required of them, all that was of value—their prayers. Catholic relief, immediate and entire, was Catholic expectation at the Union. The hopes of speedy admission were deferred by years of continued exclusion; and, during those years, the claims of the Catholics were the quicksands on which ministries went to pieces. Ireland appeared as a petitioner year after year at the bar of the imperial legislature; every session brought its anniversary discussion; within the walls of Parliament—rhetorical display—party antagonism,—excitement, dissension, and disappointment—without. Annual debates, but successive reiterations of arguments repeatedly advanced—repeatedly answered. While

\* Plowden's Ireland.

Catholic demagogues idly brandished the terror of France; the continuance of the war was calmly made a ground for postponement: and the implied obedience of the priesthood to the Pope, then a vassal of Napoleon, furnished the pretext.

To Protestant ascendancy were strongly but strangely attributed all the political evils of Ireland, although those evils have multiplied tenfold since its extinction. Statesmen admitted that if the question was, whether the religion throughout the empire should be Protestant, then by all means Protestant let it be; but Catholics there were, and Catholics there would remain. The statutes against recusancy had been found futile, and had been suffered to expire; and as extirpation was impossible, conciliation was expedient. Eligibility was put forward as the common-law right of all; disability declared not to be toleration; ignominious exclusions outrages on laws human and divine. Desire for political privileges, ambition of sectarian aggrandizement, were loudly proclaimed to be distinct passions. The Catholics sought the enjoyment of those privileges, not in virtue of their religion, but in spite of it. Their claims were enforced not to entitle them to power, but to obtain a declaration that difference of religion should not preclude them from it. It was politically unjust, that a conscientious disagreement should disqualify those, who had never belonged to, and had never deserted the Establishment—those, who had forfeited their privileges by adherence to the common ancestral faith of all. A free citizen, it was said, had no right to found his allegiance on his theology; to confound politics with polemics; to associate the expanded principles of freedom with the dogmas of contracted divinity. The definition of the great Lord Somers was universally

adopted :—" Those who simply adhere to the Church of Rome are good Catholics ; those who adhere to the Court of Rome are Papists." " I am," declared O'Connell, " sincerely a Catholic, but I am not a Papist. *I deny the doctrine that the Pope has any temporal authority, directly or indirectly, in Ireland. We have all denied the authority on oath, and we would die to resist it.*"\* To taunt the Catholics with papal infallibility as an article of their faith—to urge it as a proof of their necessary subserviency to the determinations of the Roman see—evinced, it was argued, either a total absence of candour or a wilful ignorance of their doctrines. The Catholics insisted that their merits as citizens should be estimated without reference to their creed as Christians. In order to assert their title to be treated as freemen, they indignantly disclaimed any political subserviency to Rome. To the British Crown they professed an indivisible allegiance. The removal of exasperating distinctions would, they proclaimed, render impossible the creation of artificial causes of discontent. The administration of equal laws, by Catholic judges, would inevitably supersede that barbarous and bloody code emanating " from the wild justice of revenge."† Years of tranquillized submission were triumphantly appealed to, as obliterating from historic memory centuries of discontented and insurrectionary turbulence. When admitted into the imperial copartnership, with a community of honours a community of interests was anticipated and predicted. Such was the language of the Catholics and their advocates.

\* In 1814. *Memoirs and Speeches*, by his Son, John O'Connell vol. ii., p. 178.

† Sheil adopted the phrase from Bacon.

Their opponents, on the other hand, asserted that the Catholics were unfitted to receive freedom—that if they obtained liberty they would lose it. Those who had never been known to display their piety within the church—exhibited their “No popery” without,—by supporting the church as its buttresses. General alarm was excited by historic traditions and reminiscences of the former abuses of Catholicity. The frightful phantoms of bloody times again scared the consciences and minds of men. Ancient policy was evoked as the opponent of innovating speculation. The antiquated guardians of the constitution entrenched themselves behind extravagant and exploded doctrines, raked up from the musty records of forgotten controversy. The corporations had been in early times established by the Norman English as nurseries of civilization; they afterwards became Protestant garrisons of occupation in Ireland. Having been rendered exclusive foundations, they became the strongest pillars of intolerant ascendancy. Refined distinctions were taken between the fullest toleration and the acquisition of political power. The surest grounds relied on to justify the anticipations of the future, was the experience of the past. It was strongly insisted, and as strongly denied, that if his creed and his country were thrown into the scales, and the Catholic compelled to decide between them, he must decide for his creed and against his country. The high authority of Locke was relied on, “What do these and the like doctrines signify, but that they (the Catholics) may and are ready upon any occasion to seize the government and possess themselves of the estates and fortunes of their fellow-subjects, and that they only ask leave to be tolerated by the magistrates so



long, until they find themselves strong enough to effect it?"\* It was confidently predicted that, if gradual approaches were permitted, concessions would be extorted from the weakness of the legislature, which its wisdom would be desirous to withhold. When all untenable positions, obstinately defended, were ultimately abandoned,—apprehension of the priesthood, to whose fiery intemperance the origin of the penal laws was traced, and to whom alternations of severity and indulgence had been ever found unsuited, still remained the impassable barrier to concession. Sir Robert, then Mr. Secretary Peel, met the question fairly:—"If," said he, "the Catholics believe our church to be intrusive, to have usurped the temporalities which it possesses, will they not aspire to the establishment of their church in all its ancient splendour? Arguing from the motives by which men are actuated, is not the policy questionable of admitting those who have views hostile to the religious establishments of the State to the capacity of legislating for the interests of those establishments, and the power of directing the government of which those establishments form so essential a part? The continuance of those bars which prevent the acquisition of political power by their opponents, are necessary for the maintenance of the constitution and the interests of the Established Church." Such was the reasoning of Peel—prudent and prophetic.

The very insinuation of these apprehensions roused the general indignation of the Catholics. Disdaining a State exaltation for their own church, they recoiled at the profanation of laying unhallowed hands upon that of their expectant benefactors. They realized the definition of Bolingbroke, that gratitude is the expectation of favours

\* Locke on Toleration. Works, vol. iv., p. 47.



to be conferred. They proclaimed that civilization could not be rolled back to the days of the Crusaders—that their clergy were no longer that priesthood, before whom in the dark ages civil liberty was impotent and mute. Assuming the existence of clerical influence,—the surest mode of withdrawing the laity from its operation was—to prevent their passions, irritated by exclusion, from being worked on by it. Disaffection was never contagious, unless when it met with discontent. Admit, said they, but the Catholics into the imperial copartnership—make them, instead of angry slaves, contented citizens—you create in the Catholic priests, a community of interest with the Protestant landlord to uphold the ancient institutions of the State; their reconciliation would be immediate—unqualified—complete. In claiming their own manumission, the Catholic laity, to remove the alarming impediment of the priesthood, then tendered themselves as bondsmen for the future propriety of the clergy—an obligation of honour they are bound in duty to observe. It would seem, too, that the abandonment of ancient—of obsolete doctrines—the adoption of opinions more modern, more moderate, more reasonable, more consonant to the progressive advance of mental civilization, by the clergy—then perhaps justified the lay members in their professions.

There appeared during the struggle for emancipation, issuing from the Vatican, a work of the highest authority, announcing to the Christian world the then altered tone of opinion in the papacy. The “History of the Cardinals,” by the Abbé Roy, prothonotary to the Pope, sanctioned by the express breve of Pius VII., affixed to its title-page, thus deplores the lamentable effects of papal usurpation:—“Rome has been the sport of time and events, and has passed through all the gradations of greatness and decline.

Like to the flow and reflow of the ocean, it has sometimes transgressed its bounds, sometimes retired within its limits—aspiring to the dominion of the universe, it became its own destroyer, and exhibits the saddest example of the ravages of fate. Loaded with riches, covered with honours, and proud of their possession, some papal sovereigns dared perhaps to persuade themselves that the Holy See had temporal power over kings—that they were his vassals and tributaries—that he could dispose of their crowns according to his option, and release their subjects from fidelity.” . . . “Pontifical authority passed as infallible, and sacerdotal power usurped civil legislation. All the members of the church, encouraged by the ambition of their chiefs, claimed, each in his sphere, a portion of supreme power. Bishops, as proud of their riches as of their piety, while with the one hand they humbly balanced the incense-pot of the Levites, with the other brandished the glittering sword of the warrior. There were some bishops, who officiated pontifically with the badges of a warrior deposited near the Lamb without spot. The Bishop of Cahors has always the gloves and gauntlets on the altar. But ecclesiastical authority proves how true it is, that the highest point of haughty grandeur is often the nearest approach to humiliation. Ecclesiastical persons, although subject to a power independent of the king, in whose state they have been born and naturalized, continue, notwithstanding, to be subjects of that king; they belonged to him before they belonged to the church, and the *religious* engagement which they contract is *not valid*, but in so much as it neither affects nor injures the first and national dependence.” . . . “A sovereign can, when necessary, reclaim the services of his ecclesiastical subjects; and those ecclesiastics, by obedience to their

sovereign, fulfil the law of God. He who serves his king and country well must merit praise ; and the church, so much interested in the peace and happiness of states, far from disapproving such conduct in ecclesiastics, will herself applaud their choice." The opinions thus eloquently expressed, emanating from and sanctioned by the authority of the Papal See, may be accepted as the guide then furnished to its ecclesiastics by that church, whose discipline is obedience, whose boast is immutability. If these are the defined rules of duty and allegiance to a Catholic crown—in a Protestant state, where the laws concede everything to the Catholics—are not the Catholics doubly bound to concede something to the laws ? If the Catholics tendered, openly, voluntarily, such duty and allegiance to purchase civil rights, would it not be baser than political perfidy to render those rights thus acquired, accessory to the betrayal—the violation of that duty—that allegiance ?

The Catholics were not content with persuasive reasoning—eloquent declamation—solemn professions—they appealed to their petitions, in which the truth of the declarations *there* recorded was attested under their hands, by their honour as men, by their faith as Christians. The long and bitter exclusion they had endured from fidelity to obligations was appealed to, as the infallible witness of their sincerity. Burke had declared that "the connexion between Church and State was the foundation of the Constitution and was inseparable from it." The Catholics adopted that principle as the basis of their expostulations. The petition they presented to Parliament in 1805, during the war with Imperial France, contained the following passage :—

"That they were bound and firmly pledged to defend,

to the utmost of their power, the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being. They disclaim, disallow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead—that *they will not exercise any privilege to which they are or may be entitled to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion* OR Protestant government in Ireland:—that it is their decided opinion that the enemies of the British empire, who meditate the subjugation of Ireland, have no hope of success save in the disunion of its inhabitants. That they are anxious that a measure should be accomplished *which will annihilate the principles of religious animosity, and animate all descriptions of subjects in an enthusiastic defence of the best constitution that has ever yet been established.*”\*

In the same year in which these noble sentiments emanated from the Catholics of Ireland, the combined fleets of France and Spain, again destined to assail the majesty of England by the invasion of Ireland, were annihilated by Nelson on the 21st of October 1805, at Trafalgar. With them perished the naval power of France—the perils of invasion during the war. It must be conceded that the transfusion of popular blood by the measures of reform, has not since rendered that constitution less an object of public admiration. The oath prescribed by the Act of 1793, to be taken by a Roman Catholic, was in these words:—“I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may be entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion *and* Protestant government in this kingdom.” Certain casuists, ever anxious to

\* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. v., p. 101.



entangle willing ignorance in the web of sophistry, affected to think that the crime should be against *both*—the religion and the government, in order to constitute the guilt of perjury. The same language used in the form of oath prescribed by the Act of 1795, which erected the eleemosynary College of Maynooth,—to be taken by ecclesiastics educated within its walls,—furnishes to the pliant consciences of pious men—a convenient pretext for the same shameless evasion. Ecclesiastics not educated at Maynooth are permitted to exercise mere clerical functions without taking any oath of allegiance, and are thus at least relieved from the sin and scandal of such a subterfuge. In the oblation presented by the Catholics themselves to the legislature, are found the very words subsequently adopted into the Catholic oath in the Relief Bill of 1829, and thus was the doubt, if it ever existed, removed in terms framed and proposed by the Catholics themselves. Hypocrisy is, according to the maxim of Rochefoucault, the tribute which vice pays to virtue: it is not credible that the high and honoured names, who thus appealed to the justice and generosity of England—could have muffled themselves in the cloak of deceit to stab the honour of their creed, and perhaps through the same wound the liberties of their country.

The language of their petition in 1812 was still more precise—more emphatic—“And further we most explicitly declare, that we do not wish or seek in the remotest degree to injure or encroach upon the rights, privileges, immunities, possessions, or revenues appertaining to the bishops and clergy of the Protestant religion as by law established, or the church committed to their care, or to any of them.” Again, in their petition of 1813,—“We abjure all temporal authority save that of our sovereign.



We acknowledge no civil tie save that of our constitution. Separating as we do our civil rights from our spiritual duties, we earnestly desire that they may not be confounded;—‘We render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, but we must also render unto God the things that are God’s.’ Our church could not descend to claim a State authority, nor do we ask for it a State aggrandizement; its hopes, its powers, its pretensions are of another world.” The apprehensions of Peel as to the rival ascendancies of church above church, were answered thus by the logical and enlightened mind of Woulfe, who afterwards became Chief Baron of Ireland. “By what name less odious than oppression could we stigmatize the offence the Catholics would be guilty of, if they attempted to deprive the established clergy of the temporalities which they have purchased by the exercise of valuable interest—by the surrender of other pursuits—by the abandonment of the means of earning their bread in other walks?”\* The author of the Review of the Catholic question observes, “It is supposed, I know, that if emancipation were conceded to the Catholics in Ireland, that they would attempt to seize on all the ecclesiastical dignities, lands, and livings, and divide them among their own clergy. No law, human or divine, would justify them in doing so, nor do thoughts of this kind ever enter their heads.”† The preamble of all the bills proposed by Mr. Grattan—approved of by the Catholic leaders—was in those terms—“Whereas the United Protestant church of England and Ireland is established permanently and inviolably. And whereas it would tend to promote the interests of the same, and to strengthen the free constitu-

\* Letter to a Protestant, p. 41.

† Believed to have been by Charles Butler, p. 53.

tion of which that united church forms an essential part.”\* Lord Plunket, the only one of their illustrious advocates who still survives, declared—“That if ever the day should come—when Parliament should lay its hands upon the property of the Irish Established Church, or rob it of its rights, that the same moment would seal the doom of the Union, and terminate the connexion between the two countries.”

Extravagant notions of disturbing the inviolability of that church—of unsettling that free constitution—may never perhaps have floated across the minds of the well-educated—well-regulated Catholic laity: can the same be now said of the priests? Of their ignorant and servile idolizers? Men as rabid for change as were the hungry followers of Catiline. Intellectual liberty cannot exist amongst those—who permit their priesthood to luxuriate in turbulent and anarchical tyranny—amongst those, who become the accessories of their own degradation, by cowardly submission to a despotism which, in this free state, insolence could only assume, and ignorance alone endure. Is the present generation of Catholic gentry willing to stigmatize as false the professions of their fathers—whose untiring efforts achieved that freedom they now enjoy—to scandalize the time-honoured memories of the dead—to attaint their ancestors as posthumous traitors in their graves—to debase themselves and their sons, by the prostitution of their energies and their intellects to priestly domination? Those who would submit to be slaves to the dubious delegation of a power, foreign, remote, hostile, mysterious and designing—a power assuming authority from heaven to disturb earth, will soon become unworthy to remain the free citizens of a free common-

\* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 1825, vol. xii., p. 476.

wealth. "The liberty of a people," declared Henry Flood, "like the honour of a lady, is safest in their own keeping." The selection of priests to be the guardians of the liberties or honour of a nation—only secures the inevitable violation of both.

In 1825 the then professed opinions of the Catholics were more emphatically and solemnly recorded, in the testimony of their bishops and leaders before parliamentary committees. Mr O'Connell declared—"That the propensity of the Catholic clergy is very much towards an ungratified submission to the law, and to the government *whatever it might be. I am thoroughly convinced that the object of the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland is sincerely and honestly to concur with the government, in every measure that shall increase the strength of the government in Ireland,* so as to consolidate Ireland with England completely and in every beneficial aspect." This was the language of a man who had himself endured the contumelies of exclusion—who had witnessed the devotion of advocates, the sacrifices of friends—who had seen national spirit pine under the disappointments of struggles painful and protracted—struggles, in which the priesthood, conscious that their intrusion—their assumption of leadership would be signals of failure, had been wisely content to be wielded as mere instruments. The amiable and venerable Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, in answer to an inquiry from the Committee, "What particular or general benefit would in your opinion be produced in Ireland by the admission of the Catholics to equal rights and privileges?" replied—"I think there would be one universal feeling of gratitude and attachment to the State." The eloquent and enlightened Dr. Doyle, a Roman Catholic bishop, answered the same question thus,

“I think that the general benefits would be incalculable : I am quite confident it would put an end to those religious heats and animosities which now prevail so generally.” “I think,” said he, “if emancipation were carried, that the whole Catholic population would consider their grievances at an end : I am also quite confident it would produce in them a feeling of satisfaction—of confidence—of affection towards the government greater than has ever been experienced by any government. I am convinced in my soul. *I never spoke with more sincerity ; I never spoke more from the fulness of my heart, than I do at the present moment, that if we were freed from the disabilities under which we labour, we would have no mind—no thought—no will but that which would lead us to incorporate fully and essentially with this great kingdom.*”\*

Such were the views of eminent and exalted Christians—calmly, deliberately given to the world—of men who would have seen themselves chained to the stake, rather than that imputed falsehood should pollute their lips. Such were the opinions of prelates now mouldering into dust, then speaking to posterity ; who little anticipated that their successors would betray or belie their professions. By belying their truth those successors brand those professions with falsehood and infamy, as the prostrations of treacherous meanness. If those professions were sincere, chivalrous honour demands their fulfilment—if insincere, their insincerity furnishes a posthumous but triumphant justification to the obstinate and enduring pertinacity, with which the Catholic claims were for years resisted. Those claims, however, like the fabled giant of old, only acquired fresh vigour from every successive fall.

\* Evidence before Parliamentary Committees previously referred to.



The Protestant gentry of Ireland at length, in the celebrated "Leinster Declaration," claiming for their countrymen a participation of their rights, assumed the dignified and generous attitude of mediators between the Catholics and their opponents, at the head of whom was the Crown!

The Bill of Rights, which consolidated Protestant supremacy as a fundamental principle, was styled by the great Lord Chatham "the Bible of the constitution." In front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall on the 30th of January 1649, Charles I., for the betrayal of the civil liberties of England, lost his head on the scaffold. In that same Banqueting House—William of Orange\* his grandson, on the 22nd of January 1689, met the Convention—received the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, and subscribed the declaration of rights, which ordained "that

\* William Prince of Orange was the son of William the Stadtholder of Holland, who married the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I. He took his title from the district and town of ORANGE, in the department of Vaucluse, in France; before the revolution, a small principality in the nature of a palatinate, and the see of a bishop. In the eleventh century it had Courts of its own, and became a small independent state. The sovereignty was, in 1589, conferred on the House of Nassau by the Treaty of Vervins; in 1678, by that of Nimeguen; and, in 1697, by that of Ryswick. William, who succeeded his father in 1672, as Stadtholder and Prince of Orange, became King of England in 1689. At the close of the year 1713 it was ceded, by the Treaty of Utrecht, to the House of Bourbon. Louis XV., in the same year, gave it to the Prince of Conti. In 1714 it was annexed to the government of Dauphiny, in the generality and intendency of Grenoble and Montelimart. It was anciently exempt from the general taxes of the kingdom, but is now, of course, an integral portion of the French empire. Probably but few of the Orangemen of the present day are aware that a name, still the test of ultra-protestantism, was derived from an obscure district and town in the south of Catholic France!



no foreign prince or potentate *had* or *ought* to have any jurisdiction within this realm." The coronation oath was designated by the equally great Lord Somers—one of the founders of the revolution—the second Magna Charta of England. The coronation oath remained to the last a bar to the Catholics, and those who clamoured for freedom of conscience to all—denied it to the King.

Foremost among the Catholics of that day, was a man of gentle birth, high intellectual gifts thrown into full relief by academic culture, whose young heart and ardent aspirations rose rebel against the abasement he endured ; while with poetic fervour he adorned the tragic drama of England, with political fervour, equally intense, he flung himself into the arena of agitation in Ireland. "It was," said Sheil, "from the penal code that all the power of the agitators was derived. We draw our political influence from those passions which the system of disqualification has prepared, and which it requires so little art to kindle. The agitators, the incendiaries, or whatever else they please to term us, would be flung into instantaneous insignificance, and be not only deprived of the faculty, but be cured of the inclination of rousing the passions of the people. Catholic emancipation will sentence every demagogue to political annihilation." Catholic emancipation opened to that brilliant orator the avenues to honour. He sunk into an early grave, a member of the Privy Council of England, British Minister at the Court of Tuscany. While there, he was fortunately spared the disgrace, the disgust, of witnessing such scenes as the imprisonment of the *Madiai*.

Having captivated their warm temperament, and won his own countrymen by the brilliancy of his diction, the exuberance of his imagination, the vivid splendour of his

rhetoric, Sheil carried the war into the citadel of hostility—the heart of England. He thus addressed the men of Kent at Pennenden Heath in 1827 :—

“ We have,” said he, “ power already, the power to do mischief ; give us that of doing good. Disarray us ; dissolve us ; break up our confederation ; take from the law, the great conspirator, its combining and organizing quality, and we shall no longer be united by the bad chain of slavery, but by the natural bonds of allegiance and content. You fear our possible influence in the House of Commons. Catholics without, we should be citizens within it. It has been sometimes insisted that we aim at the political exaltation of our church, upon the ruins of the Establishment. *Never was there a more unfounded imputation. The whole body of the Irish Catholics look upon a wealthy priesthood with abhorrence. They do not desire that their bishops should be invested with pontifical gorgeousness. The Catholics of Ireland know that if their clergy were endowed with the wealth of the Establishment, they would become a profligate corporation, pampered with luxury, swelling with sacerdotal pride, and presenting in their lives a monstrous contrast with that simplicity and that poverty, of which, they are now as well the practisers as the teachers.* I speak the sentiments of the whole body of my countrymen, when I solemnly and emphatically reiterate my asseveration, that there is nothing which the Roman Catholics would regard with more abhorrence, than the transfer of the revenues of the Establishment to a clergy, who owe their virtues to their poverty, the attachment of the people to their dignified dependence.”

By such eloquence, by such representations, by such

professions, by such expostulations—was emancipation won. The Catholic, who had risen from the outlaw to the alien, rose thus to be a citizen.

Before entertaining the measure which ultimately passed, it was declared to be due to the dignity of the Legislature, that the Catholic Association—the focus of sedition—should cease to exist, and it was accordingly suppressed. The measure of emancipation, while it admitted that from Protestant ascendancy the royal line derived its title to the throne, preserved the perpetuation of Protestantism in the pageant of a Protestant Viceroy. While it committed the conscience of the King to a Protestant Lord Chancellor, it enabled a bigoted devotee of Rome to enter the royal presence as Prime Minister, and become Viceroy over the Crown. While it reversed the attainder passed by the wisdom of our ancestors against popery, it required from the Catholic the security of an oath, which it was predicted he would not keep. It was insisted that if the oath would be inefficient—it was immoral to present it as a temptation to perjury; and remembering the casuistry of Jesuits, that “oaths were but words, and words were wind,” it was anticipated, that its obligation would only excite a perfidious and perpetual conflict between promises and principles, oaths and conscience. The measure was denounced as containing no control over the see of Rome or its bishops, and the flimsy protection it proposed, against the assumption by ecclesiastics of territorial titles, was ridiculed. Dignitaries nominated by the Pope were not to be permitted to hold British titles, but these titles, it was argued, might be acquired by means of a money medium, and 50*l.*, in the shape of a pitiful penalty, would enable any Catholic

prelate to sport one. The reasoning of Mr. Sadler, then member for Newark, on the 27th of March 1829, was singularly prophetic :—

“ When a number of Roman Catholics shall have become seated in this House, that they shall not feel disposed to lessen the influence of, and finally to destroy, a church which they conscientiously abhor, is absurd. That they should not make common cause for similar purposes with other parties inspired by similar views and feelings, is impossible ; and though I have heard honourable members inveigh strongly against the supposition, the sure operation of adequate motives will bring about this union, and will direct its energies and its efforts against the common object of hostility—the Establishment. Much, indeed, has been said about the weakness of such a party in point of numbers ; but a party acting invariably in unison on this point will ultimately carry it, and with it all others of vital importance. *They will form the nucleus of a growing party, to whom the measures of the Crown must always be rendered palatable, and who, consequently, will so far dictate the future policy of the country. Such has been the case in past times. The most important events that have occurred in our history, have been carried by far smaller majorities than those could form, acting together, and consequently holding the balance between the two different parties of the State.* Need I instance the Revolution and the Act of Settlement? deliverances which, if they could have been accomplished at all, could have been secured only by wading to the liberties of England through seas of blood, had not popery been expelled from the Legislature of the country.” \*

\* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xx., p. 1163.



The same reasoning thus used to exclude the Catholics would now apply to exclude the Jews ; and if the penal laws were ever just, it was argued as a conclusion equally applicable to both, that justice never changes, although policy may. Experience, however, was despised, admonitions disregarded—the pliancy of Peel yielded ; the decision of Wellington, ever triumphant, prevailed ;—the sensitive conscience of George IV. ratified the charter of Catholic Emancipation.

The capabilities of the constitution were, in the amplitude of its liberality, exhausted. The emancipated Catholics were not, like the Israelites, selecting and settling in a new country ; they found themselves suddenly elevated to the position of those around them ; members of a mighty empire, portions of a vast community, with settled laws, ancient institutions, perfect liberty, and they embraced them all. Mr. Sheil afterwards proclaimed in Parliament—“ Ireland stands as erect as if she had never stooped ; although she had once bowed her forehead to the earth, every mark and trace of her prostration have been effaced.” Amidst the exultations of national triumph, emancipation was received and acknowledged by national gratitude. Not to be exceeded in their manifestations of delight by any, the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, in synod assembled, declared, “ that the great boon had become the more acceptable to their country, because amongst the counsellors of the Crown there appeared conspicuous the most distinguished of Ireland’s own sons, a hero and a legislator—a man selected by the Almighty to break the rod which had scourged Europe. A man raised up by Providence to confirm thrones and establish altars, to direct the councils of England at a crisis the most difficult, and to

staunch the blood and heal the wounds of the country that gave him birth." With such acknowledgments conferring honour alike on both, did the Catholic prelates of that day tender to the hero who, full of years and covered with honours, has just descended into the grave,—the proud and thrilling consciousness of having deserved and obtained the everlasting gratitude of the Irish people, a triumph that in the hearts of their posterity, ought to survive even his victories. With such thanksgivings—was the liberation of *their* common country hailed as the munificent endowment of freedom.

## CHAPTER VI.

CONTEMPORANEOUS with the passing of the Emancipation Act—two other distinct measures had been contemplated, under the appellation of "*the wings*." One only became law—that passed for the extinction of the franchise conferred by the Act of 1793 on the peasantry. During the more recent periods of the protracted struggle, the Catholic clergy naturally allied with the Catholic gentry for a national object, superadded their influence, and the forty-shilling freeholders, "those broken tools" they afterwards "threw away," were weapons wielded unscrupulously by both. The frightful state of civil society then prevailing, was described by Sheil at the great Munster meeting :—"What," said he, "has Government to dread from our resentment in peace? An answer is supplied by what we actually behold. Does not a tremendous organization extend over the whole island? Have not all the national bonds by which men are tied together been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society which exist elsewhere gone? has not property lost its influence? has not rank been stripped of the respect which ought to belong to it? and has not an internal government grown up, which, gradually superseding the established authorities, has armed itself with a complete dominion? Is it nothing that the clergy are alienated from the State, and that the Catholic gentry,

and peasantry, and priesthood are all combined in one vast confederacy?" Seduced from the pious seclusion of peaceful life, in ceasing to be exclusively Christian pastors, the priests did not, unfortunately, become better citizens. If a political gathering was required for deliberation amidst the declamation of incendiaries, the saintly shepherds soon assembled their flocks. If freedom of election was to be overawed by turbulent intimidation, the spiritual comforters were suddenly metamorphosed into partizan leaders, and marshalling their penitents in battle array, the pious men led the van. By such an alliance—then perhaps (if ever) just—the Clare election—the crisis of the emancipation fever—was carried. The low scale of tenure necessarily created a low class of electors;—in order to rescue them as well from the temptations of corruption, as from the equally coercing blandishments of priestly interference, it was stipulated and determined—that with the acquisition of freedom by the Catholic gentry, the privilege of the Catholic peasant should cease. On the announcement of the intention, Mr. O'Connell, who had previously, in his evidence in 1826, called them "part of the live-stock of an estate," proclaimed in the Association, "that if any man dared to bring in a bill for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, the people ought to rebel. If any attempt were made to take from them the franchise vested in them by the constitution, he should conceive it just to resist that attempt with force, and in such resistance he would be ready to perish in the field or on the scaffold." . . . "We would rather," exclaimed Mr. Sheil, "submit for ever to the pressure of the paricidal code, which crushed our fathers to the grave, than assent to this robbery of a generous peasantry." Notwith-



standing such declarations, the cottage of the peasant was robbed of its long-enjoyed privilege, to add fresh power and splendour to the Catholic aristocrat. The spontaneous acceptance of the two concurrent measures furnishes another instance of the faithlessness of public professions ; and the Catholic leaders, amidst the acclamations of the priests, rushed into the temple of the constitution over the dead bodies of those, who had lifted them into power,—who by their fidelity had acquired the designation of “The Virtuous Forties !”

The other wing, by which a State provision from the nation was designed for the Catholic clergy, fell to the ground. Adam Smith had long previously remarked, “that the established clergy, reposing themselves upon their benefices, neglect to keep up the fervour of devotion in the great body of the people ; and, again, the independent provision in many places made for dissenting teachers, seems very much to have abated the zeal and activity of those teachers.” \* The sceptical Hume had early vindicated a paid establishment—to purchase what he deemed the useful inactivity of the priesthood. He calculated that they would part with the temptation to acquire a dangerous dominion over the mind, when they became independent ; that pecuniary and indolent ease would subdue, if not stifle, the energies of religious devotion. The proposed measure had, probably from far different motives, received the unqualified approval of the Irish Catholic bishops assembled in conclave in Dublin, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th days of January 1799. They declared, “that an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy was not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles, and ought to be thankfully

\* Wealth of Nations, book v.

accepted :” and certain members of the body were “ commissioned to transact all business with Government relative to the proposal.” With a view to induce the Government to be liberal in their terms, the bishops further resolved — “ that in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to vacant sees within this kingdom, such interference of Government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed is just, and ought to be agreed to.” That the Government were wisely determined to impose strict terms may be inferred from a letter from Lord Chancellor Clare, then in London, to Lord Castlereagh, dated the 16th of October 1798, in which he states,—“ Mr. Pitt is fully sensible of the necessity of establishing some effectual civil control over the popish clergy, which he thinks will be best effected, by allowing very moderate stipends to them, *and obliging every priest to take a license from the Crown for performing ecclesiastic functions, on pain of perpetual banishment, if he shall officiate without it.* I have pressed upon him the necessity of immediate communication with the *principal persons in Ireland*; and I do believe he will desire their attendance.” \* Zeal for their religion would of course have reconciled the clergy to any legalized restriction; and although the priests of the present day would probably deem an obligation to good behaviour the most cruel of persecutions, the suggestion of the great minister may not even now be altogether valueless. †

\* Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. i., p. 394.

† Amongst the principal persons in Ireland were probably included the Roman Catholic bishops, who were afterwards in personal communication with Lord Castlereagh on the subject, and of course apprized of the determination of the Government. Dr. Troy, their Archbishop of Dublin, in a letter of the 9th of

The adoption of the proposition was afterwards strenuously urged upon the people of England, by the celebrated Sydney Smith, in his ardent and effective advocacy of the Catholic claims. In allusion to the

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February 1799, to Sir John Cox Hipplesey, informs him :—" Previous to the separation of my brethren *certain preliminary points were agreed to, and submitted by me to Lord Castlereagh*, who expressed his approbation of them, and probably sent them to the Duke of Portland. They are not to be made public until the business is concluded. Meantime Dr. O'Reilly, of Armagh, and Plunkett, of Meath, in conjunction with me, are authorized by our brethren to treat with Lord Castlereagh on the subject, when he may think it expedient to resume it."—Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 172. In the same volume is a letter from Dr. Moylan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, to the same baronet, dated the 14th of September 1799, in which he states :—"The provision intended to be made for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom is a measure worthy an enlightened government ; and we cannot but be thankful for it."—P. 401. In the fourth volume of the same correspondence is a copy of the return made of their incomes, with a view to the proposed arrangement by the Catholic bishops and clergy. The highest income returned was that of Cork, 530*l.* a-year. That of the primate of Armagh, 400*l.* a-year ; that of the Archbishop of Dublin, 319*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* ; the lowest, that of Kilfenora, 100*l.* a-year.—Page 97. We cannot see, at least in these items, any ground for suspecting the pious fraud at which Mr. Theobald M'Kenna, a high Catholic authority, who wrote in 1805, seems to hint. "I have often understood that these returns were generally given at the highest, in consequence of some ideas that prevailed, and some expectations that had been excited." It would seem from a letter of Dr. O'Bierne, Bishop of Meath, who was greatly in the confidence of the Government, that stipends on a reduced scale were contemplated. The rates intended were 500*l.* a-year to each archbishop ; 300*l.* a-year to each bishop ; 150*l.* a-year to each parish priest ; and 30*l.* a-year to each curate.—Bishop of Meath's Letter to Lord Castlereagh, vol. iii. p. 405. When the subject was renewed in 1815, the increased value which the bishops then seem to have set upon themselves was marvellous. In the same volume will be found the draft of a

meretricious coquetting of the priests with the subject, he observes, "I appeal to any human being, whether Ignatius Loyola himself, if he were a living blockhead instead of a dead saint, could withstand the temptation of

bill, without, however, any date or name, with a scale set out in a schedule to it. It may, perhaps, be inferred that the bishops had it prepared for themselves; for Dr. Everard, the Roman Catholic bishop, thus pathetically signified his approval of it:—"Would to heaven that the intemperate passions were charmed into a suspension, that all parties might at length listen to the plain dictates of prudence and obvious duty!" This bill contemplated a complete change in the hierarchical system of the immutable church, constituting the Archbishop of Dublin Catholic Primate of all Ireland, at a salary of 2,000*l.* a-year; making the Bishop of Cork Catholic Archbishop of Munster, at 1,600*l.* a-year; making a Catholic Archbishop of Connaught, at 1,400*l.* a-year, and one of Ulster, at 1,200*l.* a-year. Probably Paul Cullen had some hopes of reviving this project, when he transferred his astronomical acquirements from Armagh to Dublin.

The schedule proposed the following general scheme:—

	£.
Amount of annual provision for 32 archbishops and bishops, that of the bishops, varying from 900 <i>l.</i> to 500 <i>l.</i> annually	24,000
Ditto for 36 Catholic deans, at salaries varying from 750 <i>l.</i> to 250 <i>l.</i>	11,200
500 parish priests, first class, annual income 120 <i>l.</i> each	60,000
500 parish priests, second class, annual income 100 <i>l.</i> each	50,000
500 parish priests, third class, annual income 80 <i>l.</i> each	40,000
1000 curates or coadjutors, 50 <i>l.</i> each	50,000
Total	<u>£ 235,200</u>

—vol. iv., pp. 425-433.

It may be fairly inferred, that the above stipend would not satisfy the curates at present, when it is remembered, that one of them lately refused 70*l.* a-year for merely shriving and sanctifying the paupers in the workhouse at Mallow.



bouncing from 100*l.* a-year in Sligo to 300*l.* a-year in Tipperary.”\* Mr O’Connell, in his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee in 1825, spoke in high commendation of the plan:—“I think,” said he, “a wise Government would preserve the fidelity and the attachment of the Catholic clergy by what I call the *golden link*—by pecuniary provision. *Our wish is, that the Government should have proper influence over them.* The Catholic clergy would become in the nature of servants of the Crown—I think that it would have *some tendency to improve their character.*” Mr. O’Connell, who had long been their devoted champion, who was well acquainted with their origin, habits, conduct, acquirements—must have felt that improvement was then necessary, and their character has certainly not improved since. If such improvement could have been its effect, it is to be lamented that the arrangement was not then effectuated. “From it were anticipated results certainly beneficial: the Catholic priesthood the servants of the British Empire—their power of good increased—of evil destroyed—their present precarious and illegal livelihood replaced by a constitutional and honourable provision—a chief cause of animosity eradicated—the country indulged, improved—perhaps tranquillized.”† The subject was afterwards renewed, and in 1808 the English Catholic Bishop Dr. Milner, after conference with them, reported the measure to be agreeable to the Irish hierarchy, and in the same year they declared it themselves to be inexpedient. In 1815 Cardinal Litta, by authority, announced the full acquiescence of the Pope to the proposition; and the Irish bishops, who now proclaim the opinion of the

\* Peter Plymley’s Letters.

† Past and Present State of Ireland.



papal Court to be decisive against the Queen's Colleges, declared their open disobedience of the orders of the Pope. In 1816 the Pope remonstrated with the bishops on the unreasonableness of their conduct, and in 1817 they remonstrated with him, praying a concordat, which might render the election of their successors domestic and independent. In 1818 the Pope replied to their remonstrance, directing them "*to be at ease*,"\* which they have never been, nor suffered the country or the people to be from that hour to this. As an inducement to the concession of emancipation, they boasted that they had secured the privilege of *Domestic NOMINATION*; and in 1826 Dr. Doyle declared before a Parliamentary Committee,—“We are more independent than other Catholic churches, because the Pope does not at present, *and he could scarcely presume to nominate any one except such person as we recommend*. We are therefore very independent, *because we have the nomination of our own prelates in our own hands, and it would be morally impossible to take from us that right*.” Notwithstanding this, the present Pope unceremoniously and contemptuously rejected the three names selected by the Irish bishops, and sent to Rome,—insulting the country and the church, by the intrusion of an Italian monk in the person of Paul Cullen, into the Roman Catholic Primacy of Armagh. The selection of Armagh for the consolidation of the hierarchy—the foundation of that metropolitan see, as the seat of the Primacy in 465 A. D., was the last creation of the apostolic career of St. Patrick. We have seen that same Paul Cullen reverse a succession, which had been acknowledged in his church, and unbroken for 1400 years, and for the purposes of political mischief, lower himself

\* Charles Butler's Hist. Mem., vol. iv., p. 479.

into the chair of Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. While the rock of Armagh has been thus deserted by the church, the church boasts of its immutability.

It was the boast of early Christianity that it planted the gospel with the land—it is now a subject of tribulation to the Irish priests, that with a diminished culture of the soil, they behold a progressive reduction of their devotees, and feel a proportionate contraction of their dues.—Some fancy, that the recent intemperance of the priests is but a delicate decoy to tempt the Government to appease them, by a fresh offer of national munificence, placing them under pay—as other civil and military officials. The example of Maynooth, where State liberality has tended only to associate vulgarity with violence—the attitude of the bravo assumed by an eleemosynary clergy, brandishing defiance in the face of those by whose bounty they *were* fed and reared—will now hardly reconcile the people of Protestant England to the expensive and perhaps fatal experiment of a stipendiary priesthood.

Preceding emancipation, it was wise and salutary policy to assuage prejudice—to mitigate hostility—and accordingly the subject of public processions, necessarily insulting and exasperating to the members of other creeds, formed matter for particular inquiry before the Parliamentary Committee in 1826. The following question was proposed to Archbishop Murray :—“ In case of emancipation being carried, would you propose that the Catholics should be allowed to have processions ?” To which that venerable prelate answered thus :—“ By no means ! Public processions in the street out of their place of worship, I would not think at all advisable in a country so mixed as ours is, where the different denominations are blended together, and where of course one description

of persons might receive ground of offence from those external ceremonies." To the same question Bishop Doyle—not a Maynooth priest, but an Augustinian friar, who had been educated at Coimbra, and, from witnessing them, had learned abroad to despise and detest idle ceremonials—replied, " I think wherever different religionists are living in the same country, the carrying abroad in open air and exposing to public view the ceremonies of any religion, is not consistent with sound sense, or that prudence which ought always to govern states, *and therefore I think that those processions in the open air outside the precincts of a church, ought to be guarded against even by law.* Question. You think there would be no objection to the enactment of provisions on that head? Answer. *Really I think it would be desirable they should be enacted, for the indiscretions of foolish men, by parading those things abroad, might create feelings in the community which would tend to evil. I should wish that such provisions were made.*"\* Dr. Doyle further added, " *that the clerical dress should not be paraded through the streets, or through any place where it could offend the view or hurt the feelings of persons of different religious persuasions.*" Processions were thus publicly condemned, prohibitory enactments recommended by a Catholic bishop ; still we have recently seen the Catholic priests throw off the mask, if indeed they ever wore it, and make a simple proclamation the pretext for clamour and outcry frantic and fanatical. Every bad feeling which had lain buried since emancipation was evoked by the reverend resurrectionists ; and a complaint without a cause having, for a purpose, fretted its hour upon the stage, has passed away into the catalogue

\* Parliamentary Reports, 1825, vol. viii., p. 220.

of allegorical grievances, which prejudice and passion delight so much to create and magnify. That proclamation merely announced the determination of the Government to preserve the public peace, by enforcing the law with impartiality to all. It was designed to be mediatory between the exasperating extremes of Catholic provocation—of Protestant unendurance. The period of its issuing—the approach of July; the month long the prescriptive anniversary of Orange exultation; the month celebrated for insulting commemorations of ancient humiliation, neutralized the surmise of sectarian acrimony in its design. The eve of the elections, always exciting, never more tumultuous than the last, silenced the suspicion of political partisanship in its promulgation. The decisions of the ignorant are always violent in proportion to their erroneousness. Common sense becomes fused in the intensity of those impassioned deliberations, which distinguish election mobs.\* “*Bona acque mala non suâ naturâ, sed vocibus seditiosum estimantur.*” The Catholics ought not to forget, that they at all times stipulated for the extinction of Orange processions as celebrating the triumphs of race. The Protestants acceded to the suppression, on the pledge of the corresponding cessation of those of creed. It was the sacred compact of the Relief Bill, that no class should thenceforth irritate another by distinctive exhibitions, either pious or political. If the Protestants are interdicted by law from insulting the Catholics, on what principle can the Catholics claim an immunity from law to insult them? In an institution that boasts of such antiquity as the Catholic Church of Ireland, public processions are but modern introductions. While spiritual pomp can scarcely trace its origin to gospel

\* Sheil.



simplicity, it may be difficult to prove that the ceremonies of religion require to be canonized in vain and insolent ostentation.

In every state authority must reside somewhere, and although its canons are crowded with declarations in the dark ages, that kings should be subject to the church, and submit their necks to her, our earliest historic records establish the exclusive exercise of supremacy by the Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet sovereigns of England. In Catholic times the rude laws and ruder constitution prohibited papal encroachments. Our first Edward denied and rejected any temporal authority by virtue of the pontificate;\* and a statute of Richard II. declared, "that the Crown of England had ever been free, and subject to none but immediately to God." If Catholic countries excluded as treasonable the assertion of supremacy by the Pope, and the encroachments of the clergy on the domestic affairs of the State, what pretensions are there for their endurance under a Protestant Crown? "To annex any condition you please to benefits created or conferred is most natural and just," is one of the political maxims of Burke. Catholic sacraments had been administered, Catholic claims asserted, Catholic liberty vindicated, while Catholic bishops had not yet learned to assume territorial titles. Almost the only condition annexed to the grant of emancipation—a measure never designed to confer power upon the priesthood—was, that its concession should not create a right which had never been claimed; and, on the faith of that compact, the treaty, of which the professions and demands of the Roman Catholics were the preliminaries, was ratified by the highest national solemnities. The asserted violation of

\* Hume's *England*, vol. i. chap. 13.

the treaty of Limerick had been, for nearly a century and a half, a fruitful theme for popular declamation. When an occasion presented itself, the violation of the Treaty of Emancipation became the pride and boast of prelatical perfidy. Professions disregarded—promises violated—oaths evaded; acts at the same time intemperate, illegal, irreligious, were the grateful requitals of priests to the generosity of England. They sought to revive the ancient struggles of race in the future contentions of creeds. Cardinal Wiseman but imitated the example of Dr. M'Hale, in seeking to evade the provisions of a law passed and accepted by universal accord. The occasion selected was insidious and unmanly. Advantage was taken of the generous and unsolicited measure of the present reign, which received the assent of the Queen on the 18th of August, 1848: "An Act to relieve Her Majesty's Subjects from certain Penalties and Disabilities in regard to Religious Opinions." Its title explained its design and its effect—its relief embraced Jews, Roman Catholics, Dissenters, and certain members of the Church of England. It repealed so many disabling laws—the remnants of ancient intolerance—that it almost swept the Statute Book. Liberality, which would have made other men grateful, made priests insolent. The prophetic language of Milton was an augury of the acts of those turbulent ecclesiastics:—

"Then shall *they* seek to avail themselves of *names*,  
*Places, and titles*; and with these to join  
 Secular power, though feigning still to act  
 By spiritual. To themselves appropriating  
 The spirit of God, promised alike and given  
 To all believers; and, from that pretence,  
 Spiritual laws by carnal power shall  
 Force on every conscience." \*

\* Paradise Lost, book xii.

An unauthorized assumption of temporal authority under spiritual pretence would have been resented by any Catholic state. A titular partition of her dominions by a foreign court, was an affront too audacious to be endured by the majesty of proud and haughty England. Human sensibility has ever felt more acutely religious insult than political wrong. "Even the feeble, pliant Hindoo, who bows the neck before the yoke of every conqueror, Christian and Mahomedan, Tartar and European, will not permit one darling right—one ancient usage—one cherished prejudice to be touched or disturbed. Not Tamerlane—not Zingis—not Clive nor Wellesley, in the plenitude of their power, ever dared to assail him in the sanctuary of his feelings."† The irritation which the calm and temperate rebuke of the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill" excited amongst the Catholics themselves, might teach them to estimate the intensity of that Protestant feeling—which saw with astonishment, and with dignified indignation repelled an outrage at once unwise, unprovoked, insulting, and aggressive. The assumption by Cardinal Wiseman of the title of Archbishop of Westminster was wanton; his pompous exhibition as cardinal, in which he had been indulged, was ample elevation in his church for the plenary exercise of all religious functions. The aggressions in his name were but the outworks, through which the designs of papal ambition hoped to undermine and ultimately to storm the yet impregnable fortress of British liberty. "What the Catholic laity," said Mr. Grattan, "have most to fear, are high-church principles, enunciated by the Pope." Such are the principles now spreading insidiously amongst them, principles which can only be resisted by the manly exercise of mental independ-

\* J. H. North.

ence Liberty by priestly connivance is a mere substitution for slavery ; and if the Catholic laity do not by the energetic exercise of timely authority restrain their clergy, their clergy will inevitably, by the dethronement of opinion, subjugate them. They should reflect on the admonition of their eminent Catholic countryman, Thomas Moore—"that though it be the religion of my fathers, I must say that much of this vile, vulgar spirit is to be traced to that wretched faith, which is again polluting Europe with jesuitism and inquisitions ; and which of all the humbugs which have stultified mankind, is the most narrow-minded and mischievous."\* When the pretensions of men are at the highest, their principles are at the worst. Priests may ignorantly fancy that emancipation was to them absolution from social duties ; but they shall be taught that their temper must mitigate, as their audacity is controlled. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act but explained and confirmed the intent and spirit of the Act of Emancipation, and no class of the community owe more gratitude to the legislature than the Catholics, for a measure which throws a shield of special protection around them.

The Act of Emancipation was speedily succeeded by the measure of Parliamentary Reform,—and events have already developed the national advantages, which this improvement in the elective and representative systems has procured for Ireland. Innovations have not proved ameliorations, and we have been reminded, that when Mithridates, by incessant repetitions of antidotes, strove to make *his constitution* poison-proof, he destroyed it. It was plain that the parliamentary privilege could not be conferred, and the municipal privilege long withheld. Accordingly corporate reform soon followed, and national

\* Memoirs, &c., edited by Lord John Russell, vol. ii., p. 73.



vanity was gratified at beholding Mr. O'Connell, the *soi-disant* liberator of his country, under the coils of a gold chain, hybernate for a season in the dignity of Lord Mayor of Dublin. The insect pride of citizen vulgarity is still periodically indulged, by being permitted occasionally to flutter in the sunshine of deputed royalty. When the causes of complaint were thus successively removed, it was naturally but vainly hoped, that the embers of political agitation would have been suffered to expire. "Theologians," observes the great historian of the Roman empire, "may indulge in the pleasing task of describing religion, as she descended from heaven, arrayed in native purity." It may, perhaps, have been the hope of beholding her in that purity, after a long absence, again visiting the Irish priesthood,—which dictated to their bishops assembled in Dublin, on the 28th of January 1834, a unanimous resolution, in which,—"they most earnestly recommended their clergy to avoid in future any allusion at their altars to political subjects; and carefully to refrain from connecting themselves with political clubs—acting as chairmen or secretaries of political meetings, or moving or seconding resolutions on such occasions, in order that we exhibit ourselves in all things in the character of our sacred calling, as ministers of Christ, and dispensers of the mysteries of God." If obedience to superiors is the first principal of Catholic ordination, it is difficult to conjecture what process of religious lustration has since conferred upon the priests absolution from such the impressive commands of their prelates.

The union of Scotland preceded the union of Ireland with England by nearly a century, and although it must be remembered that within the first fifty years of the

period, occurred the attempts of the two successive Pretenders, it is some consolation that the effects of the consolidation of Northern and Southern Britain were not early apparent. It has been remarked that the vices generated by centuries of provincial misgovernment—the meannesses that had become habitual—the animosities that had been so long fostered, could not be immediately cured by the removal of their causes. The generations they had degraded, must first have been allowed to die out, and perhaps more than one generation, before the poison-tree—the fountain of bitter waters—could be sealed up, and symptoms of returning vigour and happiness perceived.\* By the suppression of episcopacy, the expulsion of priestcraft, Scotland had previously achieved her emancipation from an enslaving creed. From the same causes she derived her successful system of education, the industrial intelligence of her people, the simple discipline of her ecclesiastical polity, and the genuine piety still residing in peaceful and unostentatious simplicity, in her remotest moors and most sequestered valleys. Antiquarians may mourn over the destruction of her monasteries as monuments of Gothic art, but the tyrannies and superstitions of ancient times, were in Scotland swept away with them. In extinguishing the instruments of religious despotism, its existence also terminated. In yielding to the public voice, the Scottish Parliament confirmed the sentiments of the people,—papacy was banished, episcopacy subverted,—and a simpler form of creed administered by a submissive priesthood—unambitious of political influence, amongst a people who would not endure it as unchristian—still continues an object of sacred admiration in the eyes of the Scottish nation.

\* Edinburgh Review, October 1827.

The reformation in Ireland also prostrated the monasteries, metamorphosed the ecclesiastical edifices; but while it separated the property from the ancient church, it did not separate from the church—the people. The clergy took their character from the race they taught, and the rude intractable spirit which even the Gospel could not soften in the savage natives, only slumbered to break out more fiercely, when power permitted it, in the home-bred uncivilized priest. The penal laws had before the Union subdued them; that measure found them politically powerless, and left them so. It substituted the honourable example of England for the exercise of intolerant and tyrannic monopoly, an example that ought to have fitted any people for freedom. The gift of freedom to a people unfitted for it has only lifted priests into power, and made the unmanageable many—slaves to the will of an equally unmanageable few; and they, having been suffered to render free representation impracticable, hope to render just government impossible. As imperial legislation has increased the political privileges of the people, the intelligence and public spirit of the country have proportionately contracted. As intellectual independence receded, priestly audacity rose and advanced to trample on it. The clergy of the same creed that long submissively bowed to Protestant ascendancy, now insultingly aspire to Catholic supremacy; and although the priesthood is not itself hereditary, and although its temporal possessions passed away from their church nearly four centuries ago, they now insist upon an hereditary title to them for that church.\* The Catholic laity must recover their

\* The Commission, dated at Westminster, 20th of May 1539, 31 Henry VIII., directing a valuation of the possessions of the monasteries and religious houses in Ireland, contained the follow-

position, reassert their authority, rescue themselves from the priests—before they can assume the stature, or stand erect in the attitude of freemen.

There was one distinctive feature in the union with Ireland. By a perversion of Constitutional principle purely national, when she parted with her Parliament—she kept her Viceroy. Mr. Grattan described an anti-union Lord Lieutenant, as “a man who made his entry into Dublin seated on a triumphal car, on one side Fallacious Hope, on the other Many-mouthed Profession—a figure with two faces, one turned to the Treasury, the other presented to the People, with a double tongue, speaking contradictory languages.” A post-union proconsul reading this, will probably recognize the transmitted resemblance. The continuance of a Lord Lieutenant separates the administration of Ireland, from the administration of the State—creates the evils of competition without the power of rivalry—and while the empire is indivisible, the government is divided. As there is no Irishman in the *Coalition* Cabinet, and as the chief governor is stationed in the

ing direction to the Commissioners:—“And furthermore that they should assign to the *heddes* and conventual persons of the said houses competent pensions to maintain their being withal during their lives, or unto such time as they should be preferred to some promotions or benefices, or otherwise provided for, having respect to the qualities of persons and the revenues of the said houses.” The grants of pensions were numerous, some to bishops and some to nuns. The highest pension appears to have been 50*l.* a-year, a very liberal allowance in those days; many were only 40*s.*, some as low as a mark, and several were granted to the late *parsons* of convents. It would appear that there were *then* female parsons; one of the grants being to Elicia Gall, late *parson* of the convent of the abbey of Kilkillen, a pension of 40*s.*; and a similar one to Egidia Fitz-John. It may, perhaps, be inferred, that the Reformation was not propagated with such extraordinary severity as has been represented.



Castle, Ireland is only represented by deputy in the Councils of the Queen. The Vice-regal establishment encourages and concentrates within its circle, all the needy and greedy place-hunters of the country. Backstairs intrigues are the avenues to place and patronage: provincial corruption and cheap champagne circulate freely in the same charnels at levees and drawing-rooms. The peer who in succession borrows his drapery from the wardrobe of royalty, is beset by everybody for everything, abused by all, and exhibits the mock dignity of a Court without the protection of a Crown. While the Crown is fixed and never errs, with every triumph of faction comes a change of Viceroy; with every fluctuation of opinion, a variation of policy—with every alternation of party, a new shuffling of cards; a fresh undoing, only to see its own deeds again undone. Every successive Lord Deputy endures the responsibility, without the authority of a minister. His banishment from Parliament deprives him of the power of self-defence. Blamed, bearded, and baffled in Dublin, he is censured and sacrificed in Downing-street. While the mimic pageant appears to the enlightened—an idle, expensive, and delusive superfluity; it encourages in the ignorant—dreams of solitary independence, and teaches the populace, and even the priests, to cling around the sterile trunk of withered nationality. The Union will never be consummated until this display of scenic pomp shall vanish, “and, like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a rack behind.”

“We are near to England,” said the celebrated Henry Flood in 1784—“I hear my countrymen lament, and often have I lamented it myself—yet indulge me, my countrymen, while I explain my paradox. On that proximity does the weal of Ireland depend—it is a

perpetual guarantee against the oppression of any self-created protectorship; it is perpetual because it depends not on the policy or caprice of kings or nations; it is fixed in the nature of things." Nature seems to have given the two islands an atmosphere of their own, in which, regardless of what passes without, if man would only permit it, they might breathe in happiness. Since the days of Flood and in the hour of her peril, the winds were styled "the ancient and only unsubsidized allies of England."\* She is now independent of such alliance. The design of Omnipotence is apparent in throwing the chain of the seas around the sister islands. Man, it was said, could not remove the boundaries of creation—could not annihilate time and space. Steam has done both! "Steam," said Canning, "has deprived the winds of their proverbial fickleness." Steam has done more to consolidate the nations than the legislation of centuries. Steam connects the two islands as it were by floating bridges, and disregarding time and space, almost obliterates the geographical distinctions which were stamped upon them by the hand of nature. The marvellous rapidity of electrical light has been still more recently made subservient to science—and become, under human control, the medium of communication—the conductor of intelligence, instantaneous and unerring, between the capitals—nay, the most remote and distant parts of the kingdom.

With steam communication thus connecting the two islands in physical unity—arose the most extravagant and most dangerous of modern popular delusions—an agitation for the repeal of the legislative union; an agitation purely and exclusively religious, to which with a Catholic liberator for a leader—with priests as drummers beating

\* Sydney Smith.

the march of intellect—ignorance, pauperism, folly, and fanaticism—furnished ready and multitudinous recruits. Before that union, according to Burke, Ireland constitutionally was independent, politically she could never be so—it was a struggle against nature. She enjoyed the protection of the most powerful country upon earth, giving her privileges without exception in common, “reserving to herself only the painful pre-eminence of tenfold burthens.”\* The measure of the Union was effectuated for their more intimate connexion by the distinct legislatures of both countries, long before the vast powers of steam had been rendered by human skill available, either on land or on the ocean. By that Union the colonial existence of Ireland had terminated, she ceased thenceforth to be occupied by the garrisons of a different nation. Previous to Emancipation, the Catholic gentry, prelacy, and priesthood had been zealous in soliciting the Union. In a letter from Bishop Dillon to Archbishop Troy, of the 1st day of September 1799, that venerable prelate states, “I have had an opportunity, in the course of the parochial visitation of my diocese, of observing how little adverse the public mind is to the measure of the Union, and I have also had an opportunity of acquiring the strongest conviction, that this measure *alone* can restore harmony and confidence to our unhappy country.”. . . “If I can judge from appearances, the people are heart-sick of rebellion and French politics.”† Doctor Bray, R. C. Archbishop of Cashel, in a letter of the 1st of July 1799, to Archbishop Troy, states—“As far as I can understand the measure, it will be productive

\* Letter of the 18th of May 1795, to Dr. Hussey.—Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. iii., pp. 121, 122.

† Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 387

of substantial benefit to both countries, and therefore it meets my good wishes, and shall have the whole of my little mite of assistance.”\* Dr. Moylan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, in a letter of the 14th of September 1799, to Sir John Cox Hipplesley, observes, “Nothing in my opinion will more effectually tend to lay those disgraceful and scandalous party feuds and dissensions, and restore peace and harmony amongst us, than the great measure in contemplation of the legislature—the union and incorporation of this Kingdom with Great Britain. The Roman Catholics in general are avowedly for the measure.”† In a letter from the Rev. H. Dowling, parish priest of Tullamore, dated January 17th, 1800, to Lord Castlereagh, he assures him, “In the country parts of this kingdom, we only wait to be called upon, in order to declare our decided opinion in favour of that measure. I speak the sentiments of thousands of my communion.”‡ The prelacy and priesthood had the horrors of the rebellion then fresh in their memories, a rebellion in which, according to Mr. Moore, twenty thousand loyalists and fifty thousand rebels suffered;§ besides thousands of the latter driven into exile and plunged in ruin, families banished, estates sequestered. They might also have anticipated, that the perverseness of the Catholic rabble would have rendered a renewal of severities indispensable, for even Mr. Canning himself was forced to declare in Parliament,—“If the union with Ireland do not take place, it may be necessary to re-fortify Protestant ascendancy by reviving the old penal code against the Catholics.” What must men think of Irish Catholic

\* Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 345.

† Ibid., p. 399.

‡ Ibid., vol. iii., p. 227.

§ Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii., p. 203.



bishops and priests as political guides of a people, when we find that same body, after emancipation, shouting lustily for the restoration of the system their predecessors so deplored ! Conceded claims only encouraged redoubled demands, and the Catholic rabble, headed by the priests, became clamorous to annul a connexion then cemented by an existence of nearly half a century, sustained by an increase at least one hundredfold in the varied and widespread relations of social, commercial, maritime, financial, and political interchange—a connexion to which Ireland had then become naturalized. The repeal of that Union would have been the separation of Ireland from England, the re-creation of two distinct races—of two separate people whose interests had become identified—whom nature, art, legislation, and time had made one. Benjamin Franklin, great amongst the great founders of American Independence, had long since declared that such “separation would be the dismembering of the Empire.” Nations become proud as they become enlightened. Ireland whose intellectual education under priestly instruction has been at best but stationary, in her insane and insatiable pursuit of unattainable objects, has ever exhibited the distinction between national vanity and national pride. In the excess of the former, the Irish flattered themselves that she could exist alone—deficient in the latter, they shrunk from aspirations to a generous rivalry with Great Britain in the active, useful, industrial, and commercial pursuits of man. While it is the proud boast of her eldest sister to meet and overcome present difficulties—Ireland idly recurs to past disasters, and palliates her apathy to emulate a great example—by pointing to centuries of by-gone degradation. In their vain attempt to grasp what has been styled “a splendid phantom,” the Irish as usual

began at the wrong end ; they set about erecting the dome of nationality in the air, before the foundations of institutions—the columns to support it—had been laid in the country.

Referring to the period selected for the idle pursuit of legislative independence, it was well observed by Sydney Smith, “ That although the Irish became so clamorous about making their own laws, the wisest and best statutes in the books have been made since their union with England. All Catholic disabilities have been abolished ; a good police has been established over the kingdom ; the criminal laws have been reformed and mitigated ; free-trade between Great Britain and Ireland has been completely carried into effect ; Lord Lieutenants are placed in every county ; tithes are taken off Catholic shoulders ; the county grand jury rooms are flung open to the public ; county surveyors are of great service ; a noble provision is made for educating the people ; and this is the country that is to be Erin-go-braghd by this silly, vain, and irritable people to bloodshed and rebellion.”\* This distinguished writer knew the Irish well ; he knew them to be the same people, who in the twinkling of an eye had handed over the country to the Nuncio and the priests ; who had licked the dust from the feet of the brutal and abject James. Has any improvement since taken place in a people, who could greet with shouts such extravagancies as the following from the lips of their leader ? At Mullingar, on the 14th of May 1843, O’Connell proclaimed—“ I wish to state that I have every reason to believe, and I may add, I know, that every Catholic bishop in Ireland, without an exception, is an ardent repealer.” (Enthusiastic cheers, in which Mr.

\* Fragment on the Irish Roman Catholic Church.

O'Connell heartily joined.) "From shore to shore we are now all repealers." Again—"All the bishops of Ireland are repealers. I defy all the ministers of England to put down the agitation. If they attempted to rob us of the daylight common to all, and prevent us from assembling in the open fields, we will retire to our chapels. We will suspend all other instructions, in order to devote all our time to teaching the people to be repealers in spite of them. (Cheers.) If they beset our temples and mix our people with spies, we will prepare our people for the circumstances; and if they bring us from that to the scaffold, in dying for the cause of our country, we will bequeath our wrongs to our successors." (Tremendous cheering.) At Tara he thus assured the Irish, and they believed him, "that teetotalism was the sure ground on which rested their hopes of sweeping away Saxon domination, and giving Ireland to the Irish." (Renewed cheering.) "I feel it to be a fact that Ireland, roused as she is at this moment, would furnish women enough to beat the entire of the Queen's forces." (Cheering.) At Roscommon he apostrophised thus:—"Oh! I love teetotalism, Napoleon boasted of his body-guards, but I can boast of more than an imperial guard of virtuous teetotallers. (Cheers.) There is not an army in the world that I would not fight with my teetotallers." (Long continued cheering and waving of hats.) While we blush for human folly at the perusal of such absurdities, we are consoled by the reflection that the Catholic bishops and priests, confederates in the sin and shame of such exhibitions, were again destined to witness the invariable result of priestly movements, signal and disgraceful failure.

We have seen from original letters, which only came to light since the delusion passed away, that the Catholic

clergy who were not indebted to the bounty of England for their education, were, previous to Catholic equalization, intently anxious for the Union, as the only means of calming the distractions of their country. What must impartial minds think of the Catholic prelates and priests educated by the State at Maynooth,—of their sense of obligations conferred, of their intellectual, moral, and religious training, who, after the concession of every civil right, could congregate rude masses to excite popular clamour, with the design of terminating that Union and reviving the distractions of that country? Are such men qualified for the rational exercise of the simplest political privilege? Are men so ignorant of the history of other countries and of their own, fitted to be what they audaciously assume, the self-constituted dictators of opinion? To what a state of mental vassalage must the wretched land be reduced, which can endure such degradation. From that vassalage—the Catholic laity can only be relieved by the extinction of priestly predominance. Away, then, with apathy! Catholics beware! The little liberty they have yet left you is in peril, if that priesthood are again permitted, while they approve and applaud the persecutions of Tuscany, to delude, deceive, divide, and distract the people—by heading a fresh crusade, by repeating the same displays of extravagance and folly—as the false apostles of religious equality.

The repeal mania congregated masses only to expose popular infatuation—hurled empty menaces only to exhibit national weakness—kindled public passions only to create private animosities—aroused fanatical prejudices only to embitter sectarian distinctions—profaned religious feelings but to scandalize its ministers—and excited delusive hopes only to display them blasted. By the



Catholic priesthood, the machinery of all the repeal mischief was set in motion ; the evil spirit was centralized in the prelacy, and descended through all the ramifications of the clergy. The church collectively, its members individually, were equally disgraced by the unnatural union of the priest and the demagogue. In the general contagion of national folly, the priests—objects of adoration to stupid stagers—shouted loudest in applauding the extravagant harangues, exhibited themselves most prominent in the idle cavalcades of the great incendiary. Instead of fulfilling the first ordinance of Christian discipline, obedience to superiors, the Catholic clergy were seen, during the repeal delusion, associated with revolutionary declaimers in seditious confederacies. In alliance together they consoled the people for the ignorance and wretchedness to which they had reduced them, by assuring them that they were the finest peasantry in the world. In order to improve the kindly relations between landlord and tenant, they attached to the proprietary of every estate a pedigree of crimes, generally imaginary ; when otherwise, always exaggerated. While endeavouring to impede agricultural improvement in Ireland, by interfering with its pursuits,\* they descanted on the unrivalled fertility of her fields ; while they banished industry from amongst her operatives, by making them politicians,—and trade, commerce, and capital from her shores by insulting, alarming, and excluding strangers, they declaimed on

\* While Mr. O'Connell was distracting the tenants of every man in the community, he was neglecting his own. Mr. Foster, the "Times" Commissioner, in his very valuable letters in 1845, assured us :—"In no part of the United Kingdom is such neglected wretchedness—such filth—such squalor—such misery of every kind to be seen, as I saw on Mr. O'Connell's estate."—Letters, p. 529.

the matchless magnificence of her harbours ; whilst they aroused the worst passions of the people by inflammatory and exasperating speeches, they announced themselves messengers of peace ; and whilst they professed to be ministers of religion, by their impious imprecations they aroused the vengeance of heaven. In their insane and unchristian exhortations to the peasantry—to leave the harvest uncut, the fields untilled—was foreshadowed that fate which afterwards scourged the country ;—foredoomed that famine which swept that peasantry from the earth. In afflicting visitations on large masses of the creation, the voice of the Almighty ever declares itself most audibly.

Mr. O'Connell lived to see years of pestilential agitation under his direction poison the fountains of popular instruction—paralyse the energies of national enterprise—pervert the channels of fertilising capital—and with the aid of his accomplices the priests—*murder* the mind of Ireland. The object of that agitation, in the hope of palliating its imprudence, was alleged by its author to be but a means to an end ; that end proved the acquisition of tribute. The funds so acquired realized the vulgar adage—while they impoverished still more the pockets of the poor, from which they were drained, they did not enrich him, into whose they passed. The rent and the sedition moved in a circle, mutually producing and produced, until at length, the money flowed in so fast, it *almost* bribed him into rebellion. Stimulated by personal vanity, he wielded unequalled popular power, but to waste its strength ;—encouraged, but to be deserted by the hollowness of priestly support, he degenerated from a national incendiary into an imprisoned martyr, to sink a political suicide. Sydney Smyth made the following remark on the reversal of his conviction by the House of

Lords—"England is, I believe, the *only* country where such an event *could* have happened, and a wise Irishman—if there be a wise Irishman—should be slow in separating from a country whose spirit can produce, and whose institutions can admit of, such a result."\*

One, and one only, pledge was kept by Mr. O'Connell, "there shall," said he, "be no rebellion in Ireland in my time:" that was a blessing he intended to bequeath to posterity. He did not survive to witness the contemptible mimicry of one—typified in its insignificance, only by the meanest flutterer of the insect creation—the cabbage moth,—it had its origin, its brief and inglorious existence, and its end in a cabbage garden! He lived long enough, however, to see himself supplanted in popular favour by one more vain, more visionary, and as mischievous as himself. In the idealism of nationality lurked a longing for royalty by both—while a tipsy hope encouraged the *one* to fancy himself, when adorned with a half cap—half crown—monarch of all Ireland—the equally rational but less aspiring rivalry of the other, was limited to the visionary crown of a province. When adulation as silly as its object, approached Smith O'Brien to hail him King of Munster!—the proffer of his subjects was declined in a burlesque of the moderation of Cromwell, thus—"Not yet! Not yet!" The priests as usual joined only to desert, mutinied in order to betray, and when they fancied there was danger, were found upon their knees. Spouting clubs, mongrel ballads, rabid nonsense, idle rhodomontade, were the safety valves through which evaporated the high-pressure valour, and patriotism of YOUNG IRELAND.

The last words Mr. O'Connell uttered in Parliament,

\* Fragment on the Irish Catholic Church. Works, pp. 480, 481.

were on the 23rd of April, 1846: the scene has been thus described by an eye-witness:—"His appearance was of great debility, and the tones of his voice were very still. It was a strange and touching spectacle to those who remembered the form of colossal energy, and the clear and thrilling tones that had once startled, disturbed, and controlled senates." "He prayed that all should be buried in oblivion—protection to all, injustice to none."\* Forsaken by the party he had raised and sustained—betrayed by former adherents—baffled by purchased partisans—deserted by sycophants who had fawned upon him—forgotten by those he had befriended—thwarted and traduced by those whom he had reared and fostered—rejected by the very priests whose influence he had created and corrupted—despised by that mob he had courted and commanded—crushed by disappointed ambition—appalled at the spectre of disaffection he had himself evoked, he sunk an object of pitiable prostration—an example of popular fickleness—a beacon to deter other agitators—a warning to future demagogues. Seeking shelter from national outcry, he set out for Rome, which he never reached—to die under the blessing of the Pope. A post-mortem examination disclosed a deeply-diseased brain, and demonstrated that alone to a disordered imagination, alternately stimulated by and stimulating the priests in hostility to the religion and institutions of England, could be traced the delusions, divisions, and distractions of his country. He found amidst the reproachful visitations of remorse—in a distant land—a deserted household—a desponding conscience—a repentant's death-bed, and a craven end—the last sad refuge of a broken heart!

Thus closed the public career of a man—whose name

\* Life of Lord George Bentinck, by the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli.



was for years almost as frequently before the public eye, as that of the illustrious soldier who survived and has lately sunk to rest. Their lives—contemporaneous and concurrent—furnish materials not for a parallel,—but for a contrast. Both born in the same island; both nearly of the same age; both acquired their early education in France,—the one for a soldier, the other for a priest—both actors on the same political stage; both filled distinguished but distinct positions in the same national event; both—from far different motives, far different sources—objects of profuse national munificence. The descendants of the one derive from their illustrious head the most exalted nobility, the most memorable titles, unbounded affluence. The other—the creature of impulse, the dupe of vanity—by his death rebuked the imputation of avarice, and redeemed many of his frailties, by bequeathing poverty to his family, as their only heritage. Sanguine and inconsiderate recklessness characterised the one,—prudent calculation, deep reflection, and single-minded moderation distinguished the other. While sincerity and truth were the polar stars which guided the splendid career of the one, the other steered his vain, erring, and eccentric courses by deliberate and continuous deviations from both. While the one wasted his own and his country's energies in the visionary pursuit of impossibilities, and relied on the success he attributed to himself in a single event, to float him over endless follies and failures; the other—chaining fortune at his feet—attempted everything required for the conduct of the greatest wars,—for the ascendancy of the greatest empire, and achieved everything he ever attempted. The one—ever in the front of danger—made his devotion to the country the guide of duty to his followers; the

other—skilful in providing for his own safety—triumphed in the evasion of her laws, as a test of his loyalty to the State. Persuasions, temptations, threats were vain to lead the one from the inflexible path that was right; the flattery of any fawning slave, or sycophantic priest, was sufficient to seduce the other, into the silly pursuit of everything that was wrong. The one subdued popular passion by dignified magnanimity; the other aroused popular fury only to create embittered disappointment. The one acquired public applause by despising it; the other lost immeasurable popularity, by the insatiate anxiety with which he courted it. While it may be sadly but truly said, that the latter left the country he had deluded and misled—“to perish like a cast-off mistress under the diseases he had given her;”\* the other, by the heroism of his achievements, exalted the empire that he served and saved; encouraged posterity by the example of the citizen; admonished the present age by the wisdom of the patriarch; and merging the austerity of the soldier in the milder duties of the legislator, the venerable patrician became the idol of national pride. So evanescent was the fame of the one, that he was almost forgotten in the country that once worshipped him, before the tomb had closed over his remains. Distance only rendered the deeds of the other more vivid. The sun of his glory, circled by the halo of his popularity, remained unclouded to the last, and his eyes enjoyed, until they closed for ever, the full perception of its effulgence. Death only revived and recalled his renown; and, with Victory and Fame, ranked as mourners over his grave—the spirits of Liberty and Peace.

\* Junius.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE transition from the national calamities of which an insubordinate priesthood have been the authors, to the social evils in which they appear as the principal actors—is but a step. The war of aggression against property, commenced with the finale of the phantom-dance after repeal. The Protestant gentry to a man declared against the dismemberment of the Empire, and although the delusion has passed away and is forgotten, they were never forgiven. The guilty projectors, patriots as well as priests, while they despised the credulity of those who had been their dupes, detested and combined to destroy those who had refused to be their associates in the treason. Sir Francis Head, a highly competent authority, who as governor of one of the provinces of Canada, was acquainted with the distinctions of race and creed, asks and deliberately answers this question,—“Are the priesthood of Ireland the cause of the moral degradation of Ireland?—I reply, They are ! The Irish priesthood have brought scandal on the sacred name of the Catholic Church—they have disgraced the cloth they wear—they are culpably driving from a beloved soil hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children, whom it was their especial duty spiritually and morally to befriend.”\* To

\* A Fortnight in Ireland, by Sir F. Head. J. Murray, Lond. 1852. p. 251.

that priesthood may be traced the disorganization of society in all its ramifications. They encouraged early marriages—a fruitful source of personal emolument: “the bed the poor peasants had to lie on, was sold to make their concubinage lawful,”\* and thus led to the subdivision of farms for breeding paupers. They promoted the grafting of tenancies on tenancies, and thereby multiplied petty tyrants: by conniving at guilt, they sheltered crime—by excluding education, for an intelligent peasantry, they substituted a slavish and superstitious serfdom—by exciting religious detestation, they converted social dependency into angry antagonism—by denouncing rents, they rendered property valueless, and drove its owners, in order to rescue themselves from ruin, at exorbitant prices, to buy back their own—by encouraging dishonesty and cupidity amongst tenants, they led to the secret hoarding of money, which belonged to their landlords—by diverting it from its varied channels of natural circulation, they promoted its accumulation, ultimately to supply the resources for emigration. Notwithstanding the examples they have witnessed, the privations they have endured, they still systematize indolence by the number of holidays they sanction and enforce—promote idleness by the ignorance they encourage—impede industry by disassociating the interests of the cultivator and proprietor of the soil—check improvement and enterprise by raising sectarian hatred, and consequent political rancour as barriers of exclusion from the advantages of example and advice, and stifle exertion by the pernicious notions they instil of “tenant right,”—a term which ignorant delusion willingly interprets—a tenure of land, freed from the obligation of rent, or the necessity of labour. The clamour for tenant

\* Sydney Smith.



right is but the same wild cry of "Ireland for the Irish," which so long swelled the chorus of Repealers and priests. In abandoning the promulgation of the 'gospel to preach the creed of tenant right, a term convertible into property spoliation, the priests teach nothing new. Lord Chancellor Clare enumerated amongst the national evils, long before the Union, that "it was a common equity in Ireland to *improve* a man out of his estate." Legislation ought to pause before it confides to the influences of priestly morality, the legalized and conscientious reconciliation of assertions of imaginary expenditure, with the realization of flagrant robbery.

By exciting a servile war against property, that clergy drove landlords in self-defence into retaliatory severities; by arraying class against class, they placed the various gradations of society in that state of antagonism towards each other, which harmonized in universal mischief to all. In rendering the clearance system the last resource for the salvation of property, they succeeded in transferring the blood and bone and sinew of hardy manhood, which under other tutors, might have been rendered industrious and invaluable on the banks of the Suir and the Shannon, to fertilize those of the Ohio and Mississippi. In their rabid anxiety to exterminate the Protestant gentry, they impoverished the best consumers, and thereby, with suicidal infatuation, drove the county traders, almost invariably of their own creed, their own chief sustainment—to emigrate. The education of the priesthood at Maynooth has perhaps not ascended to that period in the former history of their mistress, when the demagogues of ancient Rome, exciting the plebeian classes against their patrician employers, strove by turbulence and threats to overawe the senate into submission to the inroads of

agrarian pillage. The priests have probably never been taught *there*, how the parable of the operative members of the body, rebelling against its sustaining organs of vitality, but being finally obliged by necessity to resume their natural but subordinate functions, restored even the rabble to reason, and silenced and subdued the discontented.\*

“La culture des terres,” observed the philosophic Montesquieu, “devient pour les hommes, une immense manufacture ;” yet in Ireland, where there was no other manufacture but her agriculture, the priests, to secure its extinction, shouted for free-trade. Although conscious that whatever compensating balance there might have been in England, to regulate the equilibrium between machinery and man, there was none such in Ireland—they denounced protection to native industry, and were mainly instrumental in converting an arable into a pasture soil. “Where,” said Swift, “the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine.”† Grazing monopolizes, by covering with cattle large tracts of the most fertile land : it not only expels population, but it renders the few who remain attached to the soil, more miserable than the cottagers who struggle against nature on the sterile mountain’s side. While it diminishes people, it promotes indolence ; and the capital that might employ and render many industrious and happy, supports but the solitary and slothful herdsman. The evils of depopulation now so apparent in Ireland were early felt in England, and stringent laws were passed in successive reigns to restrain it. The amiable Chancellor Sir Thomas More had early

\* Livy.

† Swift’s Works, by Sir Walter Scott, vol. vii. p. 376.

thus quaintly, but pathetically described the clearance system of his day:—"Therefore is it, that one covetous and insatiable cormorant, and very plague of his native country, may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground within one pale; the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by covin and fraud, or violent oppression, they be put beside it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all. By one means therefore, or by other, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart away—poor, silly, wretched souls—men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers with their young babes, and the small household, small in substance, much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands,—away they trudge out of their known and accustomed homes, finding no place to rest!" How applicable this picture of days long gone by, to the houseless and homeless wretches—who daily crowd the quays, the victims of religious discord and political contentions. Lord Keeper Coventry, in the reign of the first Charles, in his directions to the judges of assize, enjoined them "to make strict inquiry after depopulations and enclosures—a crime," said, he, "of a crying nature, that barreth God of his honour, and the King of his subjects. CHURCHES AND HOUSES GO DOWN TOGETHER!"\* The Catholic clergy, the principal authors of extermination, can now attest the truth of this maxim!

The collapse of famine was followed by the fever of emigration. What was spared by the former is still swept away by the latter. When that contagion once visits a community, it spreads like the circles which a

\* State Trials, tem. Charles I.

pebble cast into a lake produces ; its expansion can neither be calculated nor controlled. "Nations," said Grattan, "have neither a parent's nor a child's affection—like the eagle, they dismiss their young, and know them no longer :"—still the natural ties of blood and kindred, though far apart, retain an instinctive tendency to reunite. The chain of rude affection, whose distant links are scattered at the other side of the Atlantic, continues to attract its severed fragments from this. When and where will it end? "Non enim possunt unâ in civitate multi, rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eadem calamitate trahunt."\* The priests are now through their organs loud in their lamentations—"that the Irish nation is fast dissolving, as the Jewish nation dissolved before the curse of God."† The men of Celtic blood, deficient in the qualities which distinguish the Anglo-Saxon even beyond the other branches of the Teutonic family, and partaking of the nature of their Scythian origin, are naturally migratory. America presents ample field for the expansion of races, and the red aborigines, classed by Prescott, in his History of Mexico, "amongst the shadowy races of men," are fast verging to extinction. It seems however a strange paradox, that while the people are flying from their exactions, the Celtic priests, whom few would regret, remain stationary—that while boasting of their devotion to their flocks, they seem not disposed to follow them. They feel that the emigrants seek shelter from them in a country, that, in tracing back its origin, its elevation, its language, its laws, its habits, its institutions, its freedom, its perseverance, and its public spirit, points to England ;—a country which, with an

\* Cicero.

† "Nation," Dublin paper, edited by C. G. Duffy, M.P.



innate repulsion, abhors and rejects the pretensions of priestcraft—the transplantation of popery.

The representation of Ireland in the days of the ascendancy had been exclusive, but it was at least select : confined to a class, the chosen were invariably gentlemen by birth, education, and station. If not emblems of perfect purity in their political tenets, they graced society by their cultivated manners, and adorned the literature of their age by the inspirations of their eloquence. If intolerant, their intolerance resembled the marble slab—hard and polished. Sheil thus early described the class of adventurers, who were destined to push aside the gentry : “The ephemeral favourite who heads the party of the day, is the man who combines most turbulence with the least principle. The ranks of party are recruited by all whom poverty makes desperate, nature discontented, laziness seditious—yelling for toleration, they are the most immoderate bigots—declaiming against slavery, they are the most remorseless tyrants.” The purification of the elective system, the subsequent extension of the franchise, by enfeoffing the priests with the representation, has empowered them to exclude the gentry who had *any* property from Parliament, to become *there*, objects of incessant vilification by those, whose only claim to public favour was, that they possessed *none*. The deputies of the priests were accordingly to be found session after session, as Curran had predicted, “sleeping in their collars, under the manger of the British minister,” snapping at and subsisting upon the scraps of patronage thrown to them as hush-money. The recent attempts of papal power to reassume its supremacy abroad, has encouraged and invigorated priestly audacity at home. Influence had been defined—a courteous name for profligacy on the one

hand, and prostitution on the other—and priestly influence has been permitted at the recent elections to oppose to liberal opinions a counteraction, systematic and sadly successful. In daring to defy the law, by denying the rights of the church to those, whose exercise of the franchise was uncontrolled by them, the priests wielded a frightful tyranny—unsettling not only the social and domestic comforts of this life, but the hopes and expectations of happiness in that which is to come. By their insolent denunciations, oscillating between the extremes of bombast and blasphemy, they converted the hustings into the scaffolds of popular liberty, and the press teemed with sacerdotal atrocities—at which Bossuet would have blushed, and Fenelon would have shuddered.

“The nation which has combined beyond all example and all hope, the blessings of liberty with those of order, might well be an object of aversion to those, who have been false alike to the cause of order and liberty.”\* Detestation of the free institutions of England was accordingly the war-cry of the priests at the elections: intimidation of the wise and weak—their strength; in the inundation of their turbulent lawlessness, nationality was even precipitated—fanatical bigotry alone rose to the surface. In the qualifications of candidates to please the priests—in no country so intensely anti-protestant as in Ireland—intelligence was unnecessary—acquirements forbidden—property offensive—independence odious. In selecting the English seedlings, they sought to graft on Irish stocks, apostates—the worst specimens of perverted nature—when they were to be found, were the favourites. In the choice of men in whose veins flowed Irish blood,

\* Macaulay.

they preferred those, in whose faces it was never seen to blush. "Parliament," declared Burke, "is not a congress of ambassadors from different or hostile interests, which interest each must maintain as an agent and advocate : Parliament is a deliberate assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole. England itself is but a part of a great empire, extended by our virtue and our fortune to the furthest limits of the East and West. All these wide-spread interests must be considered—must be compared—must be reconciled if possible." The members who acquire from the priests their parasite importance, are selected from motives precisely the reverse—are deputed to impede the business of the empire—to embarrass its deliberations, by incessantly bellowing in the ears of Parliament, the glorification of their church. These men, bent upon disturbing the institutions of the country, have not yet learned the distinction between the penal code—intended only to be temporary, and the constitutional code—destined and declared at the revolution to be perpetual. The representation once ennobled by the giant dignity of a Grattan and a Plunket, has degenerated into a dwindled race, and the national humiliation is complete, at hearing the wrongs of the country proclaimed, through the penny trumpets of her priestly nominees.

"The knowledge of man," said Bacon, "is as the waters, some descending from above, some springing from beneath—the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation." Ignorance, by excluding man from the contemplation and study of his Creator, while it limits his conception, isolates him from God. The opposition to the Queen's Colleges by the Papal clergy, borrowing from English bigotry the designation of "a gigantic scheme of godless education," is the most

startling symptom of the progress of ecclesiastical audacity. Does that opposition arise from a consciousness, that, although science like light may be diffused without being diminished, darkness is essential to hide deformity? Is it an avowal, that the pupil of mental vision in Catholic Ireland, cannot endure the same intensity of light, which pervades the intellectual firmament of Great Britain?

Scotland, a country greatly inferior in size, wealth, and population, has enjoyed the collegiate system, and some of her four colleges since the fifteenth century;\* and whilst they cannot be blind to the vast benefits of which it has been the parent, the system encouraged by the Scotch is proscribed by the priests of Ireland. In denouncing liberal education, they revive the worst tyranny of the penal laws—that—which denied to the parent, the right to educate his child where he pleased. Their hostility is the more oppressive, as it threatens spiritual terrors, where civil penalties were the milder punishment of unnatural law. Mr. O'Connell early felt and admitted the superiority of the Protestant—the mental inferiority of the Catholic, and vainly hoped that by tasting the air of freedom, the mind of the latter would acquire the energy and decision which liberty can alone bestow.† Is it endurable, that the descendants of that race, who for years palliated their inferiority, by referring to the dark period, during which education to the Catholic was forbidden, should now, in the full enjoyment of liberty, when the State flings open the portals of knowledge equally to all, permit their priests to start up, and brandishing

\* The College of St. Andrews was founded in A.D. 1410; that of Glasgow in 1450; that of Aberdeen in 1516; and that of Edinburgh in 1560.

† Speech in 1814; *Memoirs, &c.*, by his Son, vol. ii., p. 178.



denunciations, clap their backs against the doors to keep them closed? "Superior knowledge was one cause and branch of Protestant ascendancy, from which the Catholics can alone emancipate themselves."\*

Trinity College in Dublin† had been designated the eldest child of the Reformation; and whatever may have been the political condition of the Catholic gentry, the Parliamentary Records of Ireland furnish a remarkable instance of their anxiety before the Union, for a liberal system of education, the want of which had been acutely felt by them. Mr. Grattan presented a petition to the Irish Parliament in 1795, numerouslly signed by the Catholic laity, objecting to the establishment of Maynooth, as a measure "by which no Protestant or child of a Protestant should be permitted to receive education in that College." . . . "*Their exclusion*" they considered, "*as tending to prevent that harmony, union, and friendly intercourse through life, which might thus be early cemented between the youth of different religious persuasions, the happy effects of which, had been felt, by the permission of having the Catholic youth educated in the University of Dublin.*"‡ Although the Catholic gentry of that day, were only then beginning to ascend the steps of the temple of liberty, their minds were aspiring in the right direction. The priests were silent—submissive—subdued; their opinions were not sought by the laity, and they did not presume to intrude them.

\* Past and Present State of Ireland. † Founded in 1591.

‡ Catholic College Bill.—Irish P. D., vol. xv., p. 20. Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 519. The Act 35 Geo. III. is styled, "An Act for the *better Education* of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion."

Catholicism, exclaim the Irish Catholic bigots, cannot survive mixed education. Mixed education was thus recommended by the most eminent of the Irish Catholic bishops, the exemplary and intellectual Dr. Doyle. "We have but one university in Ireland, a country containing more than eight millions of inhabitants, whereas *four* at least would be required;—and that a University to which the mass of the people cannot have access—a University also, whose religious tests and exclusions are a libel upon its very name, for a UNIVERSITY, *to be such, should not confine its advantages to any privileged class.* She should not, whatever her system of instruction might be, devote herself almost exclusively, as ours does, to the preparing a few gentlemen for the learned professions, or close practically her doors against the middling classes of the people." . . . "Why does the mangled history of our own country present to us a complicated scene of bigotry and prejudice—of insurrection, anarchy and fraud? I believe the confusions of events have partly concealed from us their true cause; they are but partially investigated, when we attribute them to particular circumstances or individuals; but if, rejecting all secondary causes, we seek those which are primary, we will find *prominent* among the latter, *the ignorance of our people.*" "If then all of us, who dwell in Ireland, and whose fame, and fortune, and interests, and affections, are indissolubly connected with the country of our birth, are truly anxious to contribute something towards laying the foundation of her future welfare, we should not overlook the means we have of doing so, by opening to *all* her children the living fountains of knowledge, and rendering those fountains accessible to all." . . . "To redeem our country from the

reproach of ignorance," he recommended "institutions so arranged as to be accessible *to all the youth of Ireland, without distinction of class or creed.*" . . . "Whose sole object is to place not only elementary knowledge, but also science within the reach of all ; to work the immense mine of human talent, which lies buried in Ireland, to separate the fine ore from the baser metals which accompany it, bring it forth, and enrich by it not only this country, but every country in the habitable globe." Dr. Doyle anticipated and predicted the bigotry and wickedness of the present opponents of the Provincial Colleges. . . . "How many pests," said he, "are always found in society, whose only employment seems to be to disparage the best and wisest proceedings—to find fault with other men—to discover defects in whatever is attempted, for the public good—as if the most perfect projects could be exempted from them ; to insinuate suspicions of those, who expend their lives and labours for the good of mankind, and to produce embarrassment by a mysterious affectation of wisdom, and of a foreknowledge of difficulties and obstacles not to be removed ; whilst their own odious and selfish conduct creates the greatest difficulty to be met with, by the virtuous and benevolent ! Such persons whisper away the character of public men and public proceedings." "If a useful object be undertaken by one set of men, another will be found to decry it, solely because it has found favor in the eyes of their opponents."\* Read this, bigots of the synod of Thurles, and hang your heads in shame ! In the erection of the Queen's Colleges, in their patronage by the Crown—in their munificent endowment by

\* Letter to Daniel O'Connell, for the Extension of Science to all Classes of Irish Youth, 1829.

the State, we witness the realization of the ardent prayer of Dr. Doyle—of the benevolent aspiration of the poet :—

“ Oh ! for the coming of that glorious time,  
When—prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth,  
Our best protection—this imperial realm,  
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit  
An obligation on her part to teach  
Those, who are born to serve her and obey.”

*Wordsworth.*

Whilst the ships of England waft over the globe the produce of her industry, her capital, and her skill, the office of the emigration agent is the only busy shop in Ireland, the only crowded cargoes those of human beings flying her shores ; while the monuments of operative art and thriving industry crowd the surface of England, in pyramidal pride, convents and monasteries are the only rising manufactories in Ireland. The skill, industry, intelligence, energy, and capital of England, would be desirable introductions to enrich her emaciated sister. These the priests labour to exclude ; the worst of all imports, are those they encourage—her apostate priests ! Were not the Irish priests depraved enough, without the inoculation of fresh virulence from English apostacy ? By what sacrament do the missionaries of Wiseman presume to officiate in the political communion of the Irish gentry ? By what title do they dare to set afloat the bad passions of the people, making them restless in disposition, riotous in demeanour, impotent in utility ? Trading in the weaknesses and infirmities of humanity, this class always quarters itself in the most luxurious herbage ; the dissensions they create in families are but incitements to appetite. Conspicuous for “ that peculiar malignity towards those whom they have deserted, which has been in all ages the characteristic of



apostates,"\* those men combine the fawning of the sycophant with the extravagance of the zealot, the lubricity of the knave with the affrontery of the impostor; in politics incendiaries—intolerants in religion—in families firebrands—cravens in peril. What pretensions have the excommunicated of Oxford to become teachers of ultramontane theology in Ireland? Oxford, the seat of the tenets of Wickliffe—the heresies of the Lollards! Oxford, where the slavish doctrines of non-resistance had their origin! Oxford, the scene of the martyrdom of Cranmer—an *ominous* example! Of Cranmer, who before the heroism of his death, had consecrated his attachment to the faith in which he died, subscribed no less than six recantations.†

The same aggrandizing spirit, which in all ages has guided the designs of the papacy, has stimulated the ambition of its churchmen—Cardinal Wolsey, on whom had been conferred extensive legatine authority, had endeavoured to make the Irish church subservient to an English cardinal; but the Catholics of that day disclaimed his authority, especially those within the English pale‡ It must not, however, pass unnoticed, that when Wolsey, illustrating the humility of his Heavenly Master by the pomp of his earthly displays, on the 15th of July, 1527, landed at Calais, perhaps as prophetic of the subserviency of Paul Cullen, he was waited on by the Bishop of Dublin.§ Tampering with the see of Armagh may be but a step towards effectuating in the Cardinal Spaniard, that ecclesiastical

\* Macaulay.

† Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. i., p. 136.

‡ Ireland and her Church, by the Dean of Ardagh, p. 114.

§ Annals and Legends of Calais. By Callow. Lond. 1852.

authority, which was indignantly denied to the haughty and implacable Wolsey. The missionaries from Oxford may have come but to prepare the Irish priests, low though they are, for further abasement. Meek at first, the insolence of their demeanor increased with the unsuspecting generosity of their reception, and they now proclaim their determination to put down the colleges of the Queen. Are the Irish laity, who boast their island to have been the ancient sanctuary of learning, prepared, at the bidding of these Neophyte intruders, to render her the seat of modern Vandalism? It may, perhaps, be *their* aim, in denouncing *her* native institutions, to eradicate every trace of nationality, and to have the education of her youth, like the legislature of Ireland, transplanted to the precincts, and placed under the priestly dominion of Westminster. It is some consolation—it affords some hope of the regeneration of the country—that the lips of the native members have been unpolluted in Parliament by the base, slavish, and degrading opinions, the enunciation of which, was the exclusive and peculiar pride of the apostate intruders on her representation.\* The selection of such mouthpieces reveals the real feelings of the priesthood, their anxiety to adopt in this—the example of those countries bowed to the earth, by papal and priestly despotism. The public avowal of these sentiments, illustrates what the Catholics would have to expect, if handed over by the State, exclusively to the priests. The inquisition itself is an object of admiration, its erection an object of ambition to those, who could hope to see in themselves, the civil authority superseded by the eccle-

\* See the Speeches of Messrs. Lucas and Bowyer, the English Convert members for Ireland, in the debate on the Tuscan Persecutions, 18th February, 1853.

siastical—the merger of the common in the canon law — after their separation since the days of William the Norman.\* Are the Catholic gentry of Ireland fallen so low, as to present their independence, their pride, their honour, their principles, their country, as offerings to the lowest of all abortions—the popery of England? to emulate those fanatics of antiquity, who laid a fly upon an altar, and sacrificed to it an ox!

The attempt of the Pope to impede national education rivals in audacity his design of territorial partition; and the bigots who failed in the one, seek to wipe away the disgrace of their defeat, by their insolent and insane perseverance in the other. Conscious that mental servitude cannot long survive intellectual improvement, in announcing what they designate *his* condemnation of the Queen's Colleges, they proclaim the infallibility of the Pope. Such was not the doctrine of the Catholic bishops, clergy, and gentry in 1793, when they solemnly declared, "that it is not an article of Catholic faith; nor are they required to profess, or believe that the Pope was infallible." Even in later times, when Cardinal Quarantotti, President of the Sacred Missions at Rome, forwarded to Ireland the approval of the timid Pius VII. to the arrangements proposed by England, the bishops, clergy and laity of Ireland indignantly flung in the face of the papacy that document, then styled, "A RESCRIPT OF ITALIAN AUDACITY!" So daring, when it suited their purposes, was the mutiny of the Irish clergy against the authority of the Pope, who, grateful to England, was disposed to be reasonable and moderate,—that Friar Hayes, who was sent to Rome as the bearer of their

\* Wilkins's Anglo-Saxon Laws, p. 230.

insolent repudiation, was expelled by papal authority, and removed from the holy city by force.\*

“History informs us,” said Father O’Leary, “that a pope was excommunicated on suspicion of having favoured the doctrine of the Monotholites; that Pope John XXII. was obliged to retract the doctrines he preached at Avignon; that popes were deposed by a council to put an end to disorder and schism. *The Pope’s infallibility is no part of the Catholic creed.* Did not the Catholic barons and clergy of England, with Archbishop Langton at their head, obtain the great charter of English liberty, in defiance of the threats, menaces, and excommunications of Pope Innocent III.? Without any breach of faith, or rupture of Catholic communion, the keys of St. Peter painted on the Pope’s tiara, and the crescent raised on the Saracen’s turban, are equally obnoxious to Catholics, if either nodded at an attempt against their liberties!” †

Whilst the clerical conspirators against the national institutions, announce that the Pope has decided the colleges of the Queen to be dangerous to faith and morals, they conceal that the deliberations of papal councils, if entitled to the slightest weight, are, like the proceedings of papal tribunals, conducted in the dark; their adjudications pronounced in the absence of, and without hearing those, whom they are intended to affect. They suppress from the credulous and deluded Irish, that Catholic youth of England, educated at Stonyhurst and Oscott, are freely admitted to receive collegiate honours at the mixed university of London. To illustrate their notions of religious equality even

\* See his letter in the Appendix to O’Connell’s Life by his Son.

† O’Leary’s Vindication, p. 111.



amongst those of their own class, they insultingly deny to the Catholic youth of Ireland, the advantages which they willingly concede to that of England. While in pursuit of that silly phantom, a Catholic university, its projectors "*thieve*" simpletons of their money; they suppress from them, that degrees to entitle their brothers and their sons to practise the learned professions,—to suit them for appointments in the army, the navy, the colonies, to elevate them to rank and station, *cannot be conferred without a royal charter*. While they inaugurate Dr. Newman because he is *English*, as the head of an *Irish* university, where they announce that Catholicism is to be *exclusively* taught; they omit to state that the King's College, in London, has been refused a charter, because it is *exclusively* Protestant! The language of Cæsar, descriptive of ancient Gaul, "*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*," applies to the modern distribution of creeds; and if the Catholics are to be indulged with exclusive collegiate institutions, on what principle can similar endowments be denied to the Protestants, and also to the Presbyterians? Concede but the principle, and each separate class will become clamorous for a separate legislature. Are the multiplied examples of priestly extravagance—the certain miscarriage of priestly absurdities—the inevitable failure of priestly projects—to be for ever thrown away on the credulous and deluded Catholics? Dr. Newman has been successful in escaping the penalties of a libeller; but if he represents himself to be what the ignorant and infatuated believe, but what he is *not*, the head of a legalized university, he may find it difficult hereafter to evade the punishment of an impostor. Papal audacity and priestly intolerance may for a while impede the advance of education, in the vain but visionary

hope, that popery may yet preside as the tutelary genius of English national institutions. "The Jesuits," observed Pascal, "obtained a papal decree, condemning Galileo's theory of the motion of the earth ; but as the earth is really moving, all mankind together would be unable to keep it from turning, or themselves from turning with it." If there be mind in Ireland capable of cultivation, all the conspiracies of popes and priests will be fruitless to prevent its development. The shadow on the sun-dial of the King of Judah once went back ; but time, obedient to the destinies of creation, again resumed its course.

The martyrdom of President Newman has commenced. He is already tied to the stake of a large sinecure, and exhibits at least the inflexibility of folly. The system described as suiting the dunces in the days of Pope, will apply to the dolts of ours. Dr. Newman may find the following of use as a sign over his university, or as a prospectus to entice simpletons to become his overgrown schoolboys !

Placed at the door of learning, youth to guide,  
We never suffer it to stand too wide ;  
We ply the memory, we load the brain,  
Blind rebel wit, and double chain on chain ;  
Whate'er the talents, or howe'er designed,  
We hang one jingling padlock on the mind ;  
We dim the drowsy eye, and stuff the head  
With all such reading as was never read.  
So spins the silkworm small its slender store,  
And labours till it clouds itself all o'er.  
What though we let some better sort of fool  
Thread every science, run through every school,  
Never by tumbler through the hoops was shown  
Such skill in passing by and touching none ;  
With the same cement ever sure to bind,  
We bring to one dead level every mind.—*Dunciad*.

It was observed by Montaigne, that “whoever would be cured of ignorance must confess it.” The selection by the Irish priests of Newman, even for an illusory distinction, is a confession of their consciousness of inferiority. They hoped, that his imagination having been captivated by the florid Gothic embellishments of their church, he might be induced clandestinely to transfer from the rich treasures of Oxonian literature, some ornamental patches, to restore the antiquated, fantastic, and faded drapery of their own. That confession of inferiority, the only semblance of humility yet observable, may perhaps be made available for their own educational improvement. It was the policy of the Spanish Cabinet of Philip II., when it founded on the Continent the British and Irish ecclesiastical seminaries, to create a class distinct in principles and interest from their fellow-subjects. The object of the institution at Maynooth was, on the contrary, to check the influences of an alien priesthood—supposed to be naturally inoculated with prejudices against the country, and to provide that principles of civil hostility should not be engrafted on the religious education of the clergy. The vicious principle of the worst period in the history of Spain, was adopted in the British foundation—exclusion of the priests from mingling and conversing with those of the better classes, with whom they are intended afterwards to associate. In the design it was forgotten, that youthful and early friendships are the warmest and most enduring, and that while they humanize the rising, they tend to bind future generations together. The first professors at Maynooth were French refugee clergy, whom adversity had rendered submissive—terror taught to be loyal—the early doctrines of the establishment, those of

the Gallican church—the most enlightened and independent child of the papacy. The leaven of the Jesuit formulary was however preserved, but the tenets which prevailed in the days of Loyola are unsuited to the progressive advance of ours. The present education prides itself in perpetuating the subjugation of the mind, by asserting and enforcing the doctrine of infallibility, assumed on the fallible authority of councils and popes. That education makes it a conclusive argument in favour of their creed, that it cannot endure the reasoning of any other religion but its own. While it instils into uncultivated minds, extravagant notions of their own superiority, it teaches that the reformation which has supplanted their church in the most civilized, free, and contented dominions of Christendom is but the growth of yesterday; and that those, whom superior intellectual and moral culture attaches to it—are but rebels and deserters. Dr. McHale, a professor in the institution, before he had been elevated into an archiepiscopal violator of solemn laws, in his evidence before the Education Commission—declared, “The ultramontane opinions are not taught in Maynooth. *These opinions would be quite in our conception destructive to that allegiance which we owe to our gracious sovereign.*” . . . “The opinions of the ultramontanes would seem to us to be destructive of the authority of kings.” This avowal of the danger of those doctrines is sufficiently alarming; and it is not an unfair inference, from the altered tone, language, and demeanor of the priesthood, that since it was uttered in 1826, a change has crept into the establishment, with the more intolerant influences of modern papal presumption. That system must be vicious, which teaches its students, that the first thing they have to learn when they become priests, is to forget their Maker. It is



idle to talk of a home education, where foreign doctrines are inculcated—where faith is merged in the axiom of mental obedience to hostile authority—to hope to suit those to free institutions, who are kept invincibly ignorant of their value, or are instructed only to hate them. Equally idle is the expectation of improving a people, on whom are annually let loose instructors—trained only in the antiquated impostures of priestcraft. The anticipation of future tyranny over others, is the strong inducement to the noviciate priest to endure mental slavery himself; *but a clergy* to teach a turbulent and uncivilized people, ought not to take their character from that people. The defective education at Maynooth was made, in 1845, an argument for an increased grant, but what steps have been since taken by the State to improve the system? Have more real learning, more refined literature, more advanced science, more cultivated taste, more civilized manners been introduced to instruct those, who are permitted to preach to millions of their fellow subjects—although unqualified and incompetent to teach them? The degraded state of the Irish priesthood, must in a great degree arise from the degradation of the institution that produced them; the stream never rises higher than its source. Many believe that it is a vain hope to expect improvement in that priesthood; but man is a progressive animal, and Sir Francis Head has properly referred to the instance of the Irish constabulary, as an example—that Roman Catholics and Protestants, under due discipline, and proper subordination, may live and serve together in harmony even in Ireland. An instance can also be found in the German state of Hesse, where humility and very moderate means of support produce such a happy state, even amongst the clergy. “There is nothing,” observes Sir Arthur Brooke

Falkener, "for which the Hessian states are more remarkable, than the perfect practical toleration of all religious persuasions, and their charity towards each other. *Catholic and Protestant live in the most perfect harmony, neither caring more for the religious creed of another, than he does for his particular opinion of the longitude or the north-west passage.* Nowhere throughout the electorate, could you find one person assuming a right of browbeating another for not being of the same religious opinion with himself." . . . "The clergy are exemplary in the discharge of their multifarious duties. The spiritual and temporal comforts of their flocks, and their nurture in all sound impressions of religion is their unceasing care. The average of a Hessian clergyman's stipend is about forty dollars a year, the dollar 3s. sterling; to which there is added a house, a garden, and a little farm. A very few are paid as much as two or three hundred dollars.\* "To the immortal credit of the clergy, the meanest village is never left without ample spiritual assistance; the humility of his life enforces the poverty and contentment which it is his duty to preach: the Protestant and Catholic are on the best possible footing with each other."†. . . "Several of the professors of the University are Catholics, and their pupils Jews."‡ What has been effected in one state may assuredly be accomplished in another: even Ireland itself once presented an example. While an O'Beirne was Protestant bishop of Meath, his brother was a Roman Catholic parish priest in his diocese, and both lived in harmony together. We have recently seen that diocese scandalized by clerical turbulence beyond all others. The Maynooth priests of Meath

\* A Visit to Germany, vol. i., p. 75. Bentley, Lond. 1833.

† Ibid., p. 87.

‡ Ibid.

selected at the last election the drab of the quaker, turned up with hypocrisy, and fitted to the measure of an English counterfeit convert, as their favourite livery ;—and in resisting and rejecting the son of Henry Grattan, to whom they were such debtors, they rioted in the most ferocious turbulence. Their demeanor only confirmed the early remark of the acute Erasmus—while kindness will tame wild beasts, it has never yet been known to have had that effect with priests.

The frightful tyranny exercised by the system of judicature in a Catholic State, that of Naples, where priestly dominion predominates, as described by a member of the present cabinet in a letter to its noble head, startled credulity : when Mr. Gladstone was in Naples, from 15,000 to 30,000 victims daily crowded the Neapolitan dungeons. The indignation of an Englishman was shocked at the existence of a system denounced by him as “an incessant systematic deliberate violation of law,” . . . “as the wholesale persecution of virtue when united with intelligence,” . . . “as the awful profanation of public religion by its notorious alliance in the governing powers with the violation of every moral law,” . . . “as the perfect prostitution of the judicial office,” which has made it, “the degraded recipient of the vilest and most clumsy forgeries got up for the purpose of destroying the peace, happiness, ay and lives of the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished and refined of the whole community,” . . . “as the savage and cowardly system of moral, as well as in a low degree of physical torture.”\* In making those frightful charges, Mr. Gladstone, in his examination of the official reply of the Neapolitan Government, observes—

\* Letter from the Right Hon W. E. Gladstone, M.P., to the Earl of Aberdeen, p. 8. Murray, Lond., 1851.

“Launched on the 20th year of public life, I cannot plead the character of a novice in excuse or palliation of temerity.” . . . “I well knew that on the general truth of my charges I was staking my character, which though little in itself, was much to me.”\* . . . “In Naples the principle is, first, that men are to be treated as guilty until they are proved to be innocent, and secondly, that they may still be so treated, although they have been tried and not found so. A favourable decision only places a person in the same position he stood in before.”† . . . . “In all state offences, the police may arrest and detain persons without being confined to any limit of time.”‡ Such are the blessings the priests would willingly substitute for the benignant protection of British law. The treatment of the wretched Madiat in the dungeons of Tuscany, is but a solitary specimen of the general system, universally prevailing under the Papal and other governments of ill-fated and priest-crushed Italy. Such would be the state to which the priests, if let loose upon the people, as they are in those countries, would reduce society and education in this. Revolting as those atrocities are to human nature, the course of public instruction which excludes the philosophy of Bacon, the histories of Gibbon and even of Goldsmith, the poetry of Milton, the precepts of the Bible, and punishes their perusal by imprisonment, can hardly be expected to render its votaries wiser or better—to exalt the mind, or ennoble the nature of man. The grounds, even supposing them to be true, on which their justification has been attempted by the priests and their applauders,

\* Examination of the Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., p. 7. Murray Lond. 1852.

† Ibid., p. 15.

‡ Ibid., p. 22.



are equally affronting to common sense. How base, how unblushing, how barefaced must those men be, who while they annually extort large sums from the Roman Catholics, under the pretence of supporting "The Society for the Propagation of the Faith," encourage the persecution of others for the crime of propagating the Gospel!

The honour of the state is pledged to the continuance of the national grant to Maynooth; but its continuance vests in the state the power to control its appropriation, and State pensioners cannot object that those who pay the professors should appoint them. The kingdom that has succeeded in Christianizing the savage ought not to despair of civilizing the Christian, and the improvement of humanity is the noblest exercise of national bounty. Lord Clare, in a letter of the 18th of April 1799, to Lord Cornwallis, referring to Maynooth, observes, "It seems to be a complete Irish idea, first to make an establishment, and then to take the chance of guarding against its maladministration."\* To borrow a happy illustration, it was left to the chapter of accidents, but the book in which that is found has no beginning, and the end is torn out. Why not, by manly decision, make the Queen's Colleges intended for the general improvement of the country, auxiliary to the special improvement of the priests? Exclusion from liberal education only tends to lower the priesthood still lower, by rendering them the creatures of a single idea—the church. By requiring a preliminary collegiate training for the students, as precedent to a right of admission into Maynooth, their class and character would be raised; by conferring on the Royal Colleges the power to grant degrees of Doctor of

\* Castlereagh's Despatches, vol. ii., p. 278.

Divinity to deserving, loyal, and enlightened ecclesiastics, a generous and pious rivalry of religious emulation would be created. If state policy should ever concede a stipendiary provision to the priesthood, relief from their exactions would be gratifying to the peasantry, who, by refusing to support them, where the nation was willing to be their paymaster, would assuredly soon “buckle fortune on the backs of their pastors.” By confining the endowment to those members of the clergy, who by their education and conduct were entitled to it, the Church itself may be improved—perhaps regenerated—possibly adorned. The priests may be then taught, that in preaching an exclusive Christianity, they inculcate a confined charity ; that if their religion prevents them from subduing animosities, discipline may at least control them. They may then also learn, that while clamouring for liberty of conscience for themselves, they are bound to allow others to participate, and that those who insist on the freedom of acting as they please, should not refuse to others the power of thinking for themselves. They may also perhaps feel, that laws which best preserve public liberty, best protect private rights—that that legislation is wisest, which, by defining the boundaries of constitutional rights, emphatically declares them to be as sacred and as inviolable as the frontiers of nations—which, by despising idle penalties, prevents the scandal of their evasion—which by prohibiting infringements at the peril of exemplary punishment, enforces and ensures obedience. They may in the end reverence, if not admire that spirit, which while it rescues the people from priestly domination,—restores the clergy to their sacred, their proper duties,—and proclaims to the Papal church, that although she may subjugate other countries, she cannot enslave this.

As the original ecclesiastical establishment at Maynooth had been adopted from, and founded on, the Gallican discipline, there can be the less objection to submit to the same civil regulations as exist in France. The boundaries between spiritual and temporal power are, or at least until recently were, very distinctly defined *there*, and a strict inspection provided for and exercised by the Government, which did not permit in clerical education, doctrines or principles contrary to the laws and established institutions of the state. The Irish bishops, we have seen, had tendered to the Crown, as the price of a national provision for themselves, a due control over the nomination—to secure the loyalty—of their successors. The concordat which Leo X. granted to Francis I. had invested the French crown with the nomination of the Gallican bishops, reserving their collation only to the pope. In France, even before the Revolution, every rescript from Rome was presented, within a given time, to one of the Provincial Parliaments; and after examination by that assembly, a declaration that it did not contain anything hostile to the Gallican church, or to the temporal rights of the Crown, was requisite to give it effect. Napoleon declared that control over religion was essential to Government, and the fresh concordat, which when First Consul he procured from Pope Pius VII., conferring further powers upon the civil Government, was designated by him, *the vaccination of religion*. “If,” said he, “the Pope had not previously existed, he ought to have been made for the occasion.”\* A just and wise arrangement, which should now vest in the British Crown a similar control, would doubtless be the signal for prelatical outcry,

\* Montholon, vol. i., p. 121.

but we are reminded that the ancient unbending *legitimist* bishops, who deeming that the new concessions of the Pope would subvert the papacy in France, refused their assent and oath of fidelity, were summarily deposed. The prophetic wisdom of Napoleon has triumphed—the system so much apprehended by the priests, from which a refined infidelity was predicted, has weaned the people from its harlot embraces, and has at all events tended to *Catholicise* France !

The first French revolution was a war of liberty against religion—the last may prove a war of religion against liberty. Of that first revolution, “the great political physician,” Burke, “when he saw the wild work doing in France, intelligent of symptoms, distinguished between the access of fever and the force of health. What other men conceived to be the vigour of her constitution, he knew to be but the paroxysm of her madness—prophet like, he pronounced the destinies of France, and with prophetic fury admonished nations.”\* France in the space of half a century, successively democratic—imperial—legitimist—socialist—has alternated between every gradation of innovation—infidelity—republicanism—jacobinism—military dominion—constitutional loyalty—revolutionary anarchy—superstitious fanaticism—to settle down at least for the present, in the despotic plenitude of a tyrannic stratocracy. Despotism is always the follower of anarchy, and events illustrate the wisdom of Montesquieu, that there is no authority more absolute, than that of the prince who succeeds a republic.† An empire, the creation of an army, is now the brazen idol of the priesthood, and

\* Grattan.

† “ Il n’y a point d’autorité plus absolue que celle du prince, qui succede à la république.”—*Montesquieu*.



success has legitimized its erection. “When vice becomes gigantic, it conquers the understanding, and mankind begin by wonder and conclude by worship.”\* France, that had formerly abolished *all* religions, now restores Catholicism, in the Pantheon—a temple dedicated to *all* the Gods. Her army so vast as to enslave them, has itself become the people; a state of society which can only be remedied by arming the people, and unsoldiering the army.† The truest and noblest devotion of military service, is the defence of the state—it may thus cease to be the trade of any, by being rendered the duty of all.

History may be thrown away as an old almanac, if its pages do not establish this, that from the humiliation of papal authority, can alone be expected the surrender of pretensions, dangerous to the repose of mankind. Although the religion which popes profess, inculcates that men should love one another, they have never yet taught nations to do the same. The iniquitous seizure and occupation of Rome have enabled France, in assuming to be the protector, to become the keeper of the Pope: a fugitive from his capital, he owes his restoration to foreign arms, and the first act of that restoration was to turn those arms against his people. While the throne of the head of the bishops of Christendom is sustained in defiance of the principles of freedom, the alliance between papacy and despotism, between military oppression and pious prophanity—between priestly homage and ambitious aggrandizement—seems complete. The organization of a vast conspiracy against liberty is apparent: Rome is the centre—the despotic states the puppets: France the instrument—England the sanctuary of European freedom

\* Grattan.

† “Armant le peuple, et popularisant l’armée.”—*Calonne*.

—the object. Equipping large armaments—maintaining and moving vast armies. is preparation for war. The designs of France, masked by professions of peace, are as mysterious and inscrutable as the mind of her ruler: her temper as vindictive, her ambition as aggrandizing as his elevation, without any guide but the star of his destiny,—has been astounding. While France has been gradually and insidiously arming, England has been calmly philosophizing. While the armies of the one have been indulging in military ovations—her fleets in gladiatorial menaces—the ministers of the other have been until recently looking on, with placid indifference. Time was when there were ministers of England, who would not have remained so long passive—ministers who would not consider a feverish and unrefreshing dream, haunted by the spectre of war, to be a peace. Chatham would have struck his crutch against the ground—his equally eminent son would have started from his seat, and exclaimed, “France must arm or disarm—half measures are bad measures—England cannot wait to receive a blow!”

Base-born recreancy may preach penury, but it was not by calculations, that empires were ever raised or saved. Economy itself will soon feel, that peace with a war establishment is worse than war, as likely to be more enduring. The spirit which in the days of Elizabeth pulsed in every English heart, will, if the cloud charged with thunder should burst over us, again revive, again swell the crest of England. Priests, in furtherance of the papal design—that a free country should not exist on earth—may excite the rabble by hopes of revenge—retaliation—by prospects of rapine—of the exaltation of their church; but while England nobly faces danger front to front, it cannot be believed, that Ireland will assume

the cowardly disguise of the hireling assassin—to stab her in the back. Are the priests themselves prepared to hazard the horrors of a civil war—“a war fit for Cain to be the leader of—an abhorred—an accursed—a fraternal war?”\* Should Ireland be itself selected as the point of invasion, would a scion of a noble house be again found to devote himself as a rebel chief?† Will the

\* Milton.

† The tragic fate of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a son of the most aristocratic family in Ireland, is familiar to the public through his “Life and Death,” by Thomas Moore. Lord Edward, the fifth son of the Duke of Leinster, by Emily Mary, daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond, was born on the 15th of October, 1763, and married, at Tournay, in 1792, Anne Caroline Stephanie, daughter of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans (“Egalite,” afterwards guillotined), and Stephanie, the celebrated Countess de Genlis. Mr. Moore, who seems to have had the best information from *his* family, makes no secret that the Countess was the mother of the young lady. Madame de Genlis represented her to be the daughter of English parents of the name of Sims, and to have been only adopted by her, as a companion for her pupil, the Princess Elizabeth. M. de Chartres, afterwards Louis Philippe, King of the French, was a witness of the marriage contract of his half-sister, afterwards better known as Pamela. Lord Edward had served with credit in the British army in America, towards the termination of the War of Independence, and while there, and in his subsequent visits to France, had imbibed the republican principles of both countries. We may say with Mr. Curran,—“I could never mention his political offences without grief; and were it consistent with the principles of public justice, I could wish that the recording angel would let fall a tear, and wash them out for ever.” (Curran’s Life, by his Son.) Misguided though the leaders were, they never intended that they should become the vassals, or the country, a province of France. Mr. Moore states, that the offer of assistance from the Directory was accepted “on condition that the French would come as allies only, and consent to act under the new Irish government, as Rochambeau did in America; that, upon the same principle, the expenses should be reimbursed, and the troops, while acting in Ireland, receive Irish pay.” (Moore’s Life,

property, education, intelligence—the essence of the country, array themselves under such leaders as priests? Would the invaders come as allies or as conquerors? Would Imperial France submit to act, as the republican directory had *promised* to do, under the orders of an Irish executive? The Protestants were even *then* in courage, skill, and military qualities, estimated comparatively with the Catholics, in the inverse ratio to their numbers; while the latter are numerically diminishing, the moral and physical strength of the former, whose loyalty is unstained, unshaken, and inviolable, have proportionably risen. The Catholic gentry, whose traditions tell them that state necessity has, ere now, led to the arming of Protestants, the disarming of Catholics,—that Catholic estates have ere now, made Protestant landlords—will naturally feel, and imperiously tell their priests, that a papal alliance and a French invasion would not confer new civil rights, extend existing privileges, render the laws more mild, more equal, more just, their administration more merciful, property more sacred, action more free under *foreign* passports.

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vol. i., p. 276.) The idea was never entertained of enduring French or priestly dominion. The Act of Attainder, passed by the Irish Parliament, was unjust, as unprecedented by a conviction, and its reversal by the Imperial Legislature, at the instance of George IV., reflected credit on that King. He had been kind to the children of Lord Edward, and gave a commission to his son in his own regiment, the Tenth Hussars, with which corps he served in the Spanish war. Sarah, the seventh daughter of the Duke of Richmond, married Colonel George Napier, and to her two eminent sons,—Charles James, the hero of Scinde, and William, the historian of the Peninsular War,—both general officers, and both first-cousins of Lord Edward,—it is probable, that the military defence of England, in the event of invasion, would be intrusted.



They will tell them to turn to the annals of the war with imperial and revolutionary France, and there read, that Great Britain and Ireland *then* stood alone against the world in arms; that British fleets, while distracted by dangerous mutinies, defeated and destroyed those of France—mutinies met and subdued with the fortitude of ancient Rome—only to display the meteor flag, braving, in prouder defiance, “the battle and the breeze.” They will there read, that the month of July, 1798, the month in which the rebellion raged fiercest in Ireland, witnessed the annihilation of that French fleet which carried Bonaparte to Egypt,—to strike at British power in the East,—by Nelson, at the battle of the Nile. They will there find, that in the same war, during which Wellington, in his unprecedented succession of triumphs, took 3,000 pieces of cannon, without losing a single one,\* the British navy, in operations against France and her allies—Spain, Holland, Russia, and Denmark—captured and destroyed 143 ships of the line, of which 80 sail were French; and 246 frigates, of which 168 were also French†—trophies so vast, that it became a complaint amongst the shipwrights and artificers in our dockyards and arsenals, that her enemies were the naval architects of England!

The prospects and performances of former invasions may, perhaps, form a short episode of some interest. When the Armada was fitted out for the extinction of Protestant power, “the Spanish council and the priests decided that it was easy to conquer England; that she was declining and weak, deficient in ships and forts, in horses and all warlike preparations; was destitute of

\* Lord Ellesmere’s Lecture on Wellington.

† James’s Naval History, vol. vi., pp. 500-505.

captains of war, and needy of money ; that the English were fond of novelty, hated their queen, were desirous to rebel, and inclinable to the Catholic faith.”\* Such were the dreams of foreigners, deceived by ecclesiastics ; such their ignorance of the country they intended to assail ! One favourite object of Philip was to obtain possession of the person of Elizabeth ; and “the King gave great charge to the commander of the expedition in nowise to harm the person of the Queen, but, on taking her, use the same with reverence ; and that, so speedily as he might, to take order for the conveyance of her person to Rome, to the purpose, that his Holiness the Pope should dispose thereof as it should please him.”† It was the determination of the meek and clement Pius, to have handed her over as a rebellious heretic to the mercies of *his* inquisitors. On hearing of the discomfiture and failure of the Armada, the Pope, cardinals, priests, monks, and Jesuits at Rome were exasperated beyond bounds, less, perhaps, at the defeat of the expedition which they had blessed as *invincible*, than at the falsification of their prophecies, the detection of the falsehoods, they had circulated throughout Europe against England.‡ While the Queen now reigns secure in the hearts of her subjects, they should remember that the persecutions of the venerable and enlightened Galileo by the Inquisition at Rome, have been lately palliated and applauded by a Spanish-born cardinal *here* ; that the Inquisition has been revived ; that the Roman, Tuscan, and Neapolitan dungeons are now crowded with its victims. If the only religious crusade fitted out for the shores of England, terminated in the dismay and tribula-

\* Politicorum Dissertationem, cited by Strype, p. 7.

† Strype.

‡ Barrow's Life of Drake, p. 314.

tion of popes and priests, they may rest assured that any future attempt, with the same wicked design, will meet the same ignominious end.

In the formidable expedition, which was dispersed before it reached its destination—Bantry Bay—were concentrated all the vigorous efforts of the energetic directory—all the available resources, naval and military, of the French republic. T. W. Tone, to whom no man can deny the spirit of the enthusiast and the chivalry of the soldier, in his journal written on the spot, thus describes its prospects and its achievements:—"It is altogether an enterprise truly *unique*. We have not one guinea; we have not a tent; we have not a horse to draw our four pieces of artillery; the General-in-chief marches on foot; we leave all our baggage behind us; we have nothing but the arms in our hands, the clothes on our backs, and a good courage." \* . . . "My prospects at this hour are as gloomy as possible. I see nothing before me, unless a miracle be wrought in our favour, but the ruin of the expedition, the slavery of my country, and my own destruction."† . . . "We have lost two commanders-in-chief; of four admirals, not one remains. We have lost one ship of the line that we know of, probably many others of which we know nothing. We have been now six days in Bantry Bay, within five hundred yards of the shore, without being able to effect a landing. We have been dispersed four times in four days; and at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which the expedition consisted, we can muster of ALL sizes but fourteen. These only wait our falling in with the English to complete our destruction; and, to judge of the future by the past,

\* Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, by his Son, vol. ii., p. 144.

† Ibid., p. 149.

there is every probability that will not be wanting.”\* Tone, however, returned safe, and reached France on the 1st of January, 1799 :—“ We arrived seven sail ; we left forty-three sail, of which seventeen were of the line.”† Such was the fate of the great French expedition for the invasion of Ireland ! Such the protection which Providence throws around the righteous. The prospect of a future invasion by France, with the increased power of England united—her hands free—her vast naval resources—her skill, intrepidity, courage, arranged, organized, concentrated—with France obliged by nature to purchase her steam coals from England—with the steam fleets of England, forming floating and continuous lines of circumvallation around her shores—may be estimated, from the disasters and calamities, which attended and closed the last.

During the war, Ireland nobly emulated the other portions of the Empire, by supplying to the general exigencies of the State her national regiments—the legislative measure which sanctioned the interchange of the militias of both Islands,—designed to reconcile and unite, by associating the natives of its different segments together,—gratified her vanity by the display of their gallant bearing and high discipline. Now when England again invests the sons of her gentry with the gratification of rank, and by voluntary enlistment enrolls and embodies her peasantry in military array, for national defence ; Ireland excommunicated by the threatening demeanour, evil example, and public malefactions of the priesthood, remains excluded from the credit and confidence of the imperial association. During the war, constant and loud were the complaints,

\* Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, by his Son, vol. ii., p. 151.

† Ibid.



that the high naval and military appointments were closed against the Catholic gentry—Is the audacity of priestly disloyalty to be now the means of excluding honourable ambition from elevated rank? Many may remember the indignation of the high Catholic body, at a time when priestly effrontery had not yet mounted to its present height, at the expressions, “Aliens in race, country, and religion,” expressions—afterwards qualified by the lips from which they unguardedly fell in the House of Peers—expressions—then deemed indicative of distinctions insulting to national pride, which distinctions, the priests now labour to realize and perpetuate. Who can ever forget, that listened to, the inspirations of eloquence with which the affront was rebuked and resented by Sheil in the House of Commons on the 22nd of January, 1837?

“From the earliest achievement in which Wellington displayed that military genius, which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat, which has made his name imperishable—from Assaye to Waterloo—the Irish soldiers with whom his armies were filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory, with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Whose were the arms, that drove your bayonets at Vimeira, through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before? What desperate valour climbed the steeps and filled the moats at Badajos? all his victories should have rushed, and crowded back upon his memory—Vimeira, Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, Toulouse, and, last of all, the greatest. Tell me, for you were there, I appeal to the gallant soldier before me,” (Sir H. now Lord Hardinge) “from whose opinions I differ, but who bears, I know, a generous heart in an intrepid breast; tell me, for you must needs

remember—on that day, when the destinies of Europe were trembling in the balance—when death fell in showers—when the artillery of France was levelled with a precision of the most deadly science—when her legions, incited by the voice and inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the onset; tell me if for an instant, when to hesitate for an instant was to be lost, the aliens blanched? And when at length, the moment for the last and decisive movement had arrived, and the valour which had so long been wisely checked was at last let loose; when with words familiar but immortal, the great captain commanded the great advance; tell me, if Catholic Ireland with less heroic valour, than the natives of this your own glorious country, precipitated herself upon the foe? The blood of England, Scotland, and Ireland flowed in the same stream, and drenched the same field; when the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together—in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited—the green corn of spring is now breaking from their commingled dust—the dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave—partakers in every peril, in the glory shall we not be permitted to participate? And shall we be told, that we are estranged from the noble country, for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out.”\* Is the spirit which dictated such thrilling sentiments extinct? has it died in the hearts of the Catholics of Ireland with the lips that uttered them? No! The same high and gallant spirit which achieved liberty for themselves, elevated the Empire in glory, and won admiration from the world, will yet, by rescuing her from the dishonouring, debasing thralldom of priests, redeem and regenerate their country.

\* Hansard's Parl Deb.

The modern master of historic eloquence describes the religious power of the papacy as still remaining, not in decay, not a mere antique, but in full vigour—as still sending forth its missionaries, as boasting of a number of children greater than in any former age—her spiritual ascendancy extending over vast countries, which a century hence, may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe, and as yet exhibiting no sign, which indicates that the termination of her long dominion is approaching.\* Such Catholics as education befits for such contemplations, and they are many, must see the spiritual power of Rome thus exalted,—equalled, if not surpassed, in the vastness of the territorial dominions of Great Britain—dominions acquired in every clime, as well by the advance of civilization as by conquest—dominions still expanding with the extension of her industry and renown in every quarter of the globe—dominions on which the sun never sets—dominions on which, when the slave steps, he becomes instinctively free. The extension of her empire in the East, forced upon her, built up step by step—every successive war, at first defensive, terminating in extension—subjects as numerous as the most wide-spread Christian sect—undisputed mistress of the seas—the only modern victor that can boast of being unvanquished on *any* field—first in arts, arms, agriculture, colonization. With her, colonization has high and noble aims. While the spirit of her people is hostile to the taste for territorial aggrandizement, the generosity of her policy, allowing their resources to enrich themselves, disdains to acquire national revenue from her colonial dependencies. Fore-

\* Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.

most in the erection and sustainment of free institutions—fearless in protecting her own liberties—ever extending, by reforming the political privileges of her people—ever befriending the fallen fortunes of less happy nations;—a people, whom riches have not rendered indolent, nor liberty licentious;—a community ever shielding the meanest from what is unjust; combining the most jealous assertion of public rights, the most virtuous indignation at private wrong, with the most elevated and chivalrous devotion to the national weal. A power, which no combination of enemies has depressed, which has maintained the fidelity of every engagement unimpaired, which has diffused and continues to diffuse the educational, commercial, and constitutional blessings she enjoys, over vast countries created, and still rising into existence. Having exhausted, by her enterprise and her industry, all known resources,—new worlds still open upon her—to pour their profuse and magic treasures into her lap.\* Her commerce, unparalleled in the history of the earth, seems to create the productions which it carries—the ocean presents no lines of demarcation to limit the freedom of her trade—the frontiers of nations almost cease to be barriers to her advance, while her insular position multiplies for her, points of contact with the world. A nation which traces her successful ascendancy to indomitable perseverance, amazing industry, admirable skill, untiring zeal, emulative ambition, unwearied energies, and, above all, the enjoyment of full and perfect liberty. To England do the free men and free institutions of the vast American Union trace their birth. To England does modern India, great amidst the greatest of

\* Australia had been discovered by the Dutch, and abandoned by them to England as wholly valueless.



Asiatic dominions, owe its creation. To England, whose destiny seems likely to be progressive to further greatness with the duration of time,—will future generations of empires look back—proud of their parentage. There are still living those, who have endured the deprivation of privileges withheld; they can best estimate the value of privileges enjoyed. There are still living those, who have survived the days of galling disabilities,—who remember when political degradation made life debased; when the contumelies of plebeian ascendancy stung to the quick the consciousness of ancestral pride; when intellectual pre-eminence was daily passed by privileged inferiority in the race of honourable ambition. Those who so survive, we invoke as monitors to the rising and future generations, by their reminiscences of the past, by the heartburnings they have felt for their caste, their country, their creed; them—may we ask: Was it a vain and inglorious consummation of Catholic liberty, to be embosomed in honour, freedom, security, equality, in the incorporation of such a state? Them—may we remind, that the pledges of their fathers, the properties they possess, the privileges they enjoy, the ties of birth, blood, kindred, that bind men to home, are the hostages for their honour—their allegiance. How emphatic the prediction—“If England and Ireland are true to themselves and to each other, their triumphs will renovate the world, or leave in the world little worth living for!”\*

Philosophic minds, contemplating the history of our race, have observed in the development of events, a systematized combination, which, resembling the movements of the material world, displays the design of its

\* Past and Present State of Ireland.

Creator. The philanthropist, the legislator, and the statesman may, perhaps, hope yet to witness the varied gradations of rank, religion, race, which crowd our national hemisphere—although devious and divergent in their courses—uninfluenced by foreign sway, moving harmoniously round one glorious centre—CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY !









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